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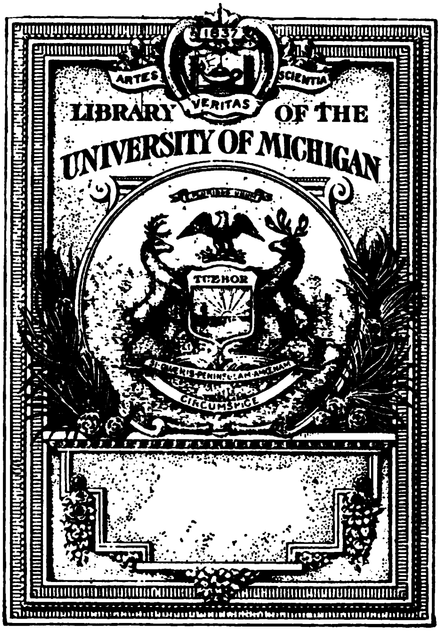
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THE NATION AND THE SCHOOLS

A STUDY IN THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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PREFACE

The purpose of this book and the plan of treatment are set forth in Chapter I. The authors desire here to acknowledge their indebtedness to Dr. E. H. Reisner and Dr. I. L. Kandel of Teachers College, Columbia University, for their kindness in reading critically certain of the chapters dealing with the historical development of Federal aid to education, and to Miss Frances M. Burke, of the Indiana, Pa., State Normal School, for her painstaking work in preparing the statistical tables. Paragraphs from an article contributed by one of the authors to *The New Republic*, December 13, 1919, form part of Chapter XVIII, and are reprinted with the permission of the publishers. Of the earlier works from which data have been taken in the construction of the tables, especial mention should be made of F. H. Swift's *Permanent Public Common-School Funds* (Henry Holt and Company) and E. P. Cubberley and E. C. Elliott's *State and County School Administration* (The Macmillan Company).

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THE NATION AND THE SCHOOLS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE NATIONAL PROBLEM IN EDUCATION

MORE and more insistently the outstanding problems in American life are becoming national problems, and their solution is being sought on a national basis. The Federation of sovereign states which was brought into existence primarily to provide for the common defense has come slowly but surely to concern itself in increasing measure with the general and internal welfare of its component units. To the organization and control of the army and navy, the regulation of customs duties, the operation of the postal service, and the management of foreign affairs, it has added with each succeeding decade new and unexpected types of domestic responsibilities. Its influence to-day, well-nigh paramount in transportation, is felt with almost equal force in banking, mining, and manufacturing; the productivity of the fields and the forests has long been an object of its interest and its bounty; and its recent efforts toward the improvement of public health and social hygiene have met with a degree of success that has commanded popular approval.

It is futile to affirm that this strong and pervasive tendency toward nationalism has been the result of anything less powerful and significant than imperative and fundamental needs. It may be that designing individuals or partisan groups have sought to impose a centralized government upon an unsuspecting people; if so, their puny efforts could have neither facilitated nor retarded the deep-lying currents that were already sweeping aside all obstacles in their course. Every discovery of science, every invention in the arts, every advance in industry has worked throughout the country toward interdependence and unity, toward a multiplication of common needs, common ideals, and common aspirations, and toward an insistent demand for the kind of far-reaching collective action that will meet these needs and realize these ideals and aspirations quickly and effectively. It has been through the pressure of these forces, — impersonal, objective, and irresistible, — that the Federation has become a Union, and the Union a Nation.

If it is true, however, that impersonal and objective forces have worked toward the primacy of the Nation, it is no less true that they have so far wrought the transformation with little appreciable weakening of the institutions of local self-government. The American people are thinking in terms of a larger unit, but it is still the people who are thinking, and as long as this fact remains, the dangers of paternalism will be negligible. The boundaries of the community have been widened, but the essential condition is unchanged — the community is still a community. What was democratically fit and proper for the little isolated neighborhood may still retain its democratic fitness and propriety when the neighborhood is no longer little or isolated. In certain essential matters to-day, the "neighborhood" can be no smaller than the Nation itself. To approximate in this larger unit the conditions of common knowledge, common understanding, and common standards of right and worth that characterized the smaller unit is the safeguard that must be raised against any evils that may lie in centralization.

To erect such a safeguard is the manifest duty of the only great collective enterprise that has not as yet been touched and quickened by the spirit of the new nationalism, — the public school. The most powerful and the most fundamental force that could be employed to preserve and extend the essential conditions of American democracy has not as yet been explicitly and systematically directed toward this end.

The public schools of the United States typify in many ways the genius of our people. They represent in theory the basic principles of democracy. Among the educational systems of the modern world, they are almost alone in their freedom from the stratifying influences of caste or class. In pattern and in form, they express clearly and consistently the most characteristic of our national ideals — the ideal of equality of opportunity. From the standpoint of the Nation's needs, however, the virtues of our schools are potential rather than dynamic. It is the pattern and the ideal rather than the performance that commands the admiration of the informed observer from abroad. Our schools are good — excellent — in certain localities; but taken in the aggregate, they are inefficient in a measure that the war crisis and its aftermath have clearly revealed. The heavy total of illiteracy among our native-born population is a charge against the school system; the "limited literacy" which the Army tests found to characterize one soldier out of every four can be explained only by the inadequacy of our lower schools; the relatively high proportion of physical deficiency which the draft brought to light constitutes an educational problem; and the need of an effective education in American citizenship imposes upon the public schools a national duty not hitherto clearly recognized.

The emergency that to-day confronts American education is likewise a symptom of a national weakness that cries out for correction. The policy that has denied to public-school service the rewards and recognitions essential to make it attractive as a permanent calling finds its consistent outcome in the present acute shortage of teachers for the lower schools. In the fall of 1919, it was estimated that a half million children were out of school because teachers could not be found for them. One million more were under the instruction of teachers who were unable to meet the lowest standards of a licensing system already far too low in its requirements. During the winter many schools that had opened in the fall were forced to close because their funds had been exhausted. And added to all this there was an alarming falling-off in the enrollment of the institutions that prepare public-school workers.

Unless remedial measures are soon taken, these conditions will become progressively worse. The situation that they reveal is not local and sporadic, but nation-wide and general. It constitutes a state problem and a local problem, but far more fundamentally it constitutes a national problem of the first magnitude. It is not too much to say that our educational system is threatened with disruption at the very point where its strength and stability are most significant to the Nation's life.

How the public schools may be made efficient upon a nation-wide basis is the problem for which the following chapters will attempt to outline a solution. The solution that will be proposed involves nothing revolutionary. The Nation has already established a policy of Federal aid for education. This policy, which antedates the Constitution, has been strengthened and developed during the period of our national life. It constitutes to-day a safe and tested framework upon which to build the needed extensions. There is no thought here of a national control of public education. This would be without warrant or justification. What is needed is a measure of Federal coöperation that will correct the underlying defects resulting from a narrow and inadequate conception of educational responsibility, — a type of coöperation that will stimulate the people to see their state and local educational problems in a national perspective, and that will make the provision of good schools and good teachers in every community a matter of duty to the Nation and of fidelity to the ideals for which the Nation stands.

The first part of the book briefly outlines the historical development of the policy of Federal aid, with the attempt to show how this policy, well-intentioned but defective at the outset, has been gradually refined through progressive legislation to the point where its much wider extension in the form of national subventions is clearly justified. Following this historical survey, the present situation is analyzed and the deficiencies revealed by the war are traced to their causes. The measures now before Congress looking toward the remedy of one or more of these deficiencies are then considered. Of these, the Smith-Towner Bill, as representing the most comprehensive proposals, is selected for detailed treatment and the remaining chapters are devoted to a study of its provisions and of the educational conditions which they seek to improve. In this connection the two most serious weaknesses of American education, — the rural schools and the policies and agencies for the preparation of teachers, — are given especial emphasis and attention. The book concludes with a discussion of the proposal to restore the present Federal Bureau of Education to its original status as a department of the Government, and to make it an executive department with a cabinet officer — a Secretary of Education — at its head.

The book, in brief, is a collection of fact and argument designed to show that the Nation is, in a very real sense, an educational unit, that the Federal Government should assume a fair proportion of the cost of maintaining schools throughout the country, and that there should be established in Washington an adequate agency through which the educational needs of the Nation *as a Nation* may be made vocal.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION

IT is difficult for one of this generation to go back, even in imagination, one hundred thirty-seven years to the time when Great Britain signed treaties of peace with the thirteen Colonies in America recognizing each as "a sovereign and independent State." The images necessary to the reconstruction of the life of that day are not within the experience of most of us. If it be true that the ideals and acts of that distant time have influenced, and still influence, our daily lives, it is important for us to know something of them that we may understand the genesis of our present problems and act intelligently with respect to the present and to the future that ever has its roots in a past that was once a present.

Our colonial fathers were afraid of a centralized authority. They lived in a day in which, for the benefit of mankind, it was necessary to assert at every point the "divine right of the individual" as opposed to the "divine right of kings,"—and they did it most successfully. The "town meeting" developed in Massachusetts and was copied in many of the other colonies.

Fundamentally, it expressed the right of a compact and relatively isolated group of people, with common interests and common ideals, to control, as a group, its own affairs. It did not go to that limit of individualism which is destructive of all government, but it clearly emphasized the right of "like-minded" people, living in small communities, to direct their own affairs in their own way.

It was out of this firm belief in the autonomy of the small like-minded group that the so-called "district system" of public-school administration was born. Because the principles of self-determination and local self-government appealed to the struggling settlers throughout the colonies and on the frontier, the "district system" became the almost universal pattern for the control of public schools wherever such schools were organized.

The colonial schools were not *free* in the sense that our present schools are free. At first they were supported entirely by a tuition charge paid by the parents. Later, public moneys, in small amounts, were voted by the town meeting to eke out the tuition charges. These appropriations were supplemented by *rate bills*, — a tax on the parents and guardians of children attending the school. These rate bills were authorized by the town meeting and were collectible by legal processes of seizure and sale of property.[1]

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[1] One is likely to think of the rate bills as a method of supporting public schools belonging to a very remote past. The following table,

Schools supported in part by voluntarily determined rate bills followed the original subscription schools. The next step was a *compulsory rate on all the inhabitants*, first appearing in the Plymouth Colony in 1677. In the same year Connecticut provided compulsory rates "except any town shall agree to some other way to raise the maintenance of him they shall employ [to conduct a Latin school]."[1] In this matter, indeed, Connecticut really led the way, for its famous Code of 1700 provided: (1) That every town of seventy householders or more *must* maintain a school eleven months; (2) that every town of fewer than seventy householders *must* maintain a school for at least six months; and (3) that towns *must* levy a school tax of 40 shillings on every 1000 pounds.[2]

The population of Pennsylvania was a conglomerate of different religious sects up to the close of the Revolu-

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prepared from material in Swift's *Public Permanent Common School Funds* (p. 27), may dispel any illusion we may have had on this matter.

Rate Bills Abolished

Massachusetts	1827	Iowa	1858
Delaware	1829	New York	1867
Pennsylvania	1834	Rhode Island	1868
Florida	1869	Connecticut	1868
Vermont	1850	Arkansas	1868
Indiana	1851	Virginia	1870
Ohio	1853	Utah	1890

Other states do not appear in this table because they conducted their schools at public expense for a very short term each year, permitting a longer term by rate bills or by subscription, at the option of the district.

[1] Com. of Edn. Report, 1892–3, p. 1239. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 1245.

tionary period, and the schools — the few that existed — were connected with the churches. The "doctrine of the inner light"[1] held in common by the Quakers and the German sects was not conducive to the organization of schools. Ability to read the Bible was ample education for all of life's duties and responsibilities.

In Virginia and other colonies of the South, the plantation life rendered schools of the present type practically impossible. There were some "plantation schools"; subscription schools were found in the few large towns; while for the large majority of the landholders, a tutorial system in the planters' homes sufficed. In certain communities, too, an effort was made to teach the rudiments of reading to the children of the poor.

On the whole, colleges were more successful in the colonial period than were public schools as we now know them. The need of an "educated ministry" was keenly felt and, in part, provided for. Harvard was founded in 1636; William and Mary in 1693; Yale, 1701; Princeton, 1746; Pennsylvania, 1749; King's (Columbia), 1754; Brown, 1764; Dartmouth, 1769; Queen's (Rutgers), 1770; Hampden-Sidney, 1776; Washington and Lee, 1782; Washington University (Maryland), 1782. Preparation for college demanded tutors in the South and the grammar school in New England.

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[1] For an illuminating treatment see Fisher's *The Making of Pennsylvania*, pp. 43–64. As to the Germans in Pennsylvania in colonial times, see the same volume, pp. 119–127.

Generally speaking, however, the education of the great masses of people — "universal" education — was not only an unrealized ideal; it was scarcely recognized as a worthy ideal, except for the religious sanction that attached to ability to read the Bible; and, outside of New England, the training requisite to this end was usually held to be the duty of the home. And yet the secular and civic sanctions for education were even then beginning to take root. "The laws . . . prior to 1876 . . . show the state beginning to recognize the importance of education for her own welfare, and beginning to contribute to the support thereof, but leaving unto the church a large measure of control in the supervision and administration of schools."[1]

At the close of the Revolutionary period, then, we had thirteen "sovereign and independent States" scattered along the Atlantic coast, each spent with the long struggle for independence, each feeling some distrust of every other, each with its traditions of individual liberty and local autonomy, — modified only by the belief of each that its own views of life, religion, and statecraft ought to be universally accepted.

These separate states, in their years of struggle for the realization of common aims, had been brought together under the Articles of Confederation, — a covenant so loose that its weaknesses seemed to spell disaster for any plan of union. The three and a half million inhabitants of the thirteen states were widely scattered. Means of communication were few and inadequate. It was difficult for one group to know what others were doing or how they felt. The strongest bond of union was found in a common hatred — in a negative rather than in a positive ideal. The schools — few, small, and scattered — shared in the disasters and dissensions which the long years of war had brought.

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[1] S. W. Brown: *The Secularization of American Education.* New York, 1912, p. 155.

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT STAKE

IN colonial days there had been many quarrels over conflicting claims to the territory that lay west of the narrow fringe of settlements along the seaboard. Even during the progress of the war against the Mother Country, the adjustment of these claims and the disposal and settlement of the domain involved gave rise to bitter disputes. In 1778, the General Assembly of Maryland agreed not to sign the Articles of Confederation unless the crown lands that were unsettled at the beginning of the war should become the common property of all the states "to be parceled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments in such manner and in such time as the wisdom of that assembly shall hereafter direct." The claims of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut were hopelessly involved. Virginia started to sell her western lands in 1779 and the Continental Congress, recognizing that such a step would threaten the weak bonds that held the states together, urged her to stop and also begged the other states to do nothing with their lands until the war should be over.

This land controversy not only did not help the prosecution of the war; it delayed as well the ratification of the Articles of Confederation. In the efforts to settle the matter, Congress passed, in October, 1780, a resolution that pledged its attitude and intention as follows:

(1) That the western territory claimed by the states should be disposed of for the common benefit of all the states.

(2) That it should be divided into states ultimately to be admitted into the Confederation upon a footing equal in all respects to that of the original states.

(3) That the expenses incurred by any state in subduing British posts and in acquiring and defending the western territory should be reimbursed.

(4) That the manner and condition of the sale of the lands in dispute should be exclusively regulated by Congress.[1]

This action by Congress had a salutary effect. In March, 1781, New York gave up her claim to the disputed territory. In October, 1783, Virginia ceded her lands, making only a reservation of about three million seven hundred thousand acres between the Little Miami and Scioto rivers in Ohio, as bounty for her troops. Massachusetts ceded her lands in April, 1785, without reservations. A month later, May, 1785, Congress adopted a plan for the disposal of this new national territory. The lands were to be divided "into townships six miles square"; each township was to be subdivided into thirty-six lots, one mile square; the lines of these 640-acre lots were to be run in the same direction as the external lines of the townships and the lots were to be numbered from 1 to 36. Out of every township, the four lots numbered 8, 11, 26, 29, were reserved by the United States Government for future sale; and the lot No. 16 of every township was dedicated to "the maintenance of public schools within the said township."

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[1] Journals of Congress, VI, p. 213.

With the intention and pledge which this "Land Ordinance" of May, 1785, clearly stated, Connecticut made her first cession in September, 1786, and her second one in 1800. South Carolina completed her cession in August, 1787. In December, 1789, North Carolina ceded her claims to Tennessee. Georgia's cession of her claim on lands west of the Chattahoochee River, made in August, 1788, was not finally completed until April, 1802, on account of the Yazoo Land Company's troubles. With this one exception, however, and for all practical purposes, the cession to the United States of the lands claimed by the states had been completed by the beginning of 1790,—that is, within ten years of the declaration of intention and pledge made by Congress in October, 1780. The Congressional action of May, 1785, which directed that Lot No. 16 should be reserved "for the maintenance of public schools within the said township" was five years from the beginning and five years from the end of the decade.[1]

The action of Congress in setting aside Lot No. 16 of each township for the support of schools was an event of prime importance in American history. It will be well to trace the development of the ideals and policies which resulted in this action.

The first permanent funds for the maintenance of schools in this country took the form, in part, of private endowment through the donation of lands. Benjamin Simms of Virginia, by his will of 1635, gave "two hundred acres of land, with the milk and increase of eight cows, for the maintenance of an earnest and honest

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[1] It is interesting to compare the areas of the states created out of this vast public domain with the areas of the original states.

ORIGINAL STATES	AREA IN SQUARE MILES	MADE FROM CEDED DOMAIN	AREA IN SQUARE MILES
1. New Hampshire	9,341	1. Ohio	41,040
2. Massachusetts	8,266	2. Indiana	36,354
3. Rhode Island	1,248	3. Illinois	56,665
4. Connecticut	4,965	4. Michigan	57,980
5. New York	49,204	5. Wisconsin	56,056
6. New Jersey	8,224	6. Tennessee	42,022
7. Pennsylvania	45,126	7. Alabama	51,998
8. Delaware	2,307	8. Mississippi	46,865
9. Maryland	12,327	9. Kentucky	40,598
10. Virginia	42,627		
11. North Carolina	52,426		
12. South Carolina	30,989		
13. Georgia	59,265		
	326,315		429,528

man to keep a free school for the education of the children of the parishes of Elizabeth City and Kiquotan." In 1636, Captain John Mason left one thousand acres of land "for maintaining a free grammar school for the education of youth in New Haven." There were many examples of such personal grants in colonial days.

Public-land grants for education closely followed these private benefactions. For the maintenance or support of a school, Boston reserved Deer Island (1641), Dorchester reserved Thompson's Island (1639), and later (1657) added one thousand acres of land. This step was followed by the granting of lands by the colonial governments to towns or counties for the support of schools. Each of four counties in Connecticut, for example, received, in 1672, six hundred acres of land for the support of a grammar school. The General Court of Massachusetts, in 1659, granted one thousand acres of land each to Charlestown and Cambridge with the understanding that the land was to be forever appropriated to the support of grammar schools.

The next step in the development of land-grant policies was taken when the colonies reserved a portion of their unsettled lands for school purposes. Connecticut unwittingly set the precedent for this policy in 1726. Thirty-nine years before, in order to embarrass the royal governor, Andros, the colony had granted a portion of what is now Litchfield County to the towns of Windsor and Hartford. Contrary to colonial expectation, the towns refused to cede back the land at the termination of the trouble. A compromise was effected in 1726 by which each of the two towns kept half of its original grant. The other half was divided into seven townships. Five of these townships were further subdivided into fifty-three parts each. "Three parts in each town were reserved, one for the support of the town school and two for the ministry." This did not settle the matter, for in 1733 the Assembly ordered "that these seven towns be sold and the proceeds divided among the towns of the colony already settled, in proportion to their respective lists of polls and ratable estate, *the proceeds to be set apart by each town as a permanent fund, the interest on which is to be faithfully expended for the support of the schools required by law.*"[1]

This action of Connecticut in 1733 is clearly responsible for the first colonial or state permanent school fund of which we have record, and its importance can scarcely be overestimated. The precedent was followed by Georgia in July, 1783, in an act which authorized the Governor to set aside "one thousand acres of vacant land for erecting free schools" in each county. In 1786, the State of New York provided for the survey of its vacant lands into "townships of sixty-four thousand acres" each. A "State Lot" and a "Gospel and

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[1] Swift's *Public Permanent Common School Funds in the United States*, p. 35.

School Lot" were reserved in each township. In 1789, provision was made for the sale of the "Gospel and School Lot," — and thus began New York's system of township school funds. Massachusetts took similar action in 1788.

Even before the War for Independence, then, colonial experience had proved the worth of land endowment as a means of insuring free schools. Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, having won the vast public domain as a national asset, followed the established precedent and decreed that Lot No. 16 in each township of this vast domain was to be dedicated to the "maintenance of public schools." The Ordinance of 1787, in the third article, contained the famous declaration, — "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." This language is a reaffirmation, in general terms, of the act of May, 1785, but it is not the declaration by which Lot No. 16 is specifically set aside for public schools.[1]

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[1] It was not only in the Ordinance of 1787 that education and religion were coupled together as joint beneficiaries of national bounty. In 1784, Jefferson proposed a plan for disposing of the public lands, but his plan contains no reference to education. Eleven months later, however, Congress considered another bill which granted the sixteenth section for school purposes "and the section immediately adjoining the same to the northward to the support of religion." The latter provision was not repeated in the act of May, 1785, and also failed to appear in the Ordinance of 1787. However, in the reservation of land

How Lot No. 16 was made available to the different states and what it meant to them educationally are topics so important as to deserve a separate chapter.

in 1787 for the Ohio company, Lot 29 is to be given "perpetually for the purposes of religion," and the Symmes contract for the purchase of land in Ohio, 1787, also made reservation of lands for schools and religion, and one township for an institution of higher education.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENDOWMENT MAGNIFICENT

POTENTIALLY, the setting aside of the sixteenth sections constituted a truly magnificent endowment for public education, aggregating, in the territory east of the Mississippi, over seven and a half million acres of land. If all of this land could have been held by the public under a series of ten-year, twenty-year, or even fifty-year leases, it would have yielded a continually increasing revenue, and would have to-day, at the lowest estimate ($3.00 per acre), a rental value of twenty-two and a half million dollars annually. While this sum would be far from sufficient to maintain the public schools of the states carved from the ceded territory, it would be a substantial portion of the total.[1] That the contributions of the land-grant endowments in these states fall far short of what they might have been would be a fact the more lamentable, had it not constituted a probably necessary step in the development of a sound public policy in the granting of lands for educational purposes. To know something of the early disposition of the school lands, therefore, is essential to an understanding of subsequent happenings.

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[1] The average rental value would be much higher. It has been estimated that the rents from the "Lots No. 16" in Cook County, Illinois, would more than meet the annual cost of operating the public schools *of the entire state* on the present basis of expenditures.

Ohio was the first state to receive Lot No. 16 and her experience in its disposition illustrates practically all of the difficulties that the policy involved in its early administration.

In 1802, Congress passed an act enabling the people of Ohio to form a constitution and state government under certain conditions that were clearly set forth in the act itself. Relating to land grants, this law provided:

First, "That the section numbered sixteen in every township, and where such section has been sold, granted, or disposed of, other lands equivalent thereto and most contiguous to the same, shall be granted to the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools."

Second, That certain salt lands and springs should be granted to the state for the use of the people under regulations to be set up by the legislature of the state.

Third, That one twentieth of the net proceeds of all lands within the state sold by Congress after June 30, 1802, should be set aside for the laying out and making of public roads.

These grants, however, were subject to the following condition:

> "Provided always that the three foregoing propositions herein offered are on the condition that the convention of the said state shall provide by an ordinance, irrevocable without the consent of

the United States, that every and each tract of land sold by Congress, from and after the 30th day of June next, shall be and remain exempt from any tax laid by order, or under the authority of the state, whether for state, county, township, or any other purpose whatever, for the term of five years, from and after the day of sale."[1]

This five-year exemption from all taxes, which was to constitute an inducement to settlers, was made a condition of granting the sixteenth section of each township for the use of schools.

There were complications, however, in Ohio. Virginia's Military Reserve between the Little Miami and the Scioto embraced 3,710,000 acres and had no reservation of lands for public schools. Connecticut in her Western Reserve had originally some 3,300,000 acres of land within the present limits of Ohio. By 1792 she had disposed of about 524,000 acres of this land by sale, and in 1793 provided for the sale of the remainder, the proceeds of which were to constitute "a perpetual fund, the interest whereof is granted and shall be appropriated to the use and benefit of the several ecclesiastical societies, churches, or congregations of all denominations in this state, to be by them applied to the support of their respective ministers or preachers of the gospel and schools of education, under such rules and regulations as shall be adopted by this or some future session of the general assembly."[2] This arrangement did not last, however, for in 1795 the legislature appropriated the income to the "School Societies." The final disposition of this fund in Connecticut was not helpful to the people who lived within the Western Reserve and who desired an endowment for their schools. The Ohio Company, which by act of Congress, July, 1787, had secured 964,285 acres of land, had agreed to reserve Lot No. 16 for schools. So, also, the Symmes grant, to a New Jersey group, provided a reservation for schools within its domain of 311,682 acres. Notwithstanding, there were over 9,500,000 acres of land within the limits of Ohio covered by Congressional grants in which there were no reservations for public schools, including the Military Reservation of the United States, which contained 2,500,000 acres.

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[1] Laws of the United States, 1789–1815, pp. 496–498.

[2] U. S. Com. of Edn. Report, 1892–1893, pp. 1257–1259.

The Ohio Constitutional Convention made proposals (1802) for the reservation of school lands for these areas, and Congress, in 1803, accepted the proposals and set aside 269,771 acres for this purpose. This is the equivalent of one thirty-sixth of 9,717,756 acres.

Congress, in the act of March, 1803, took another step that promised to produce more complications. In 1802, it had granted the sixteenth section, or its equivalent, in each township, "to the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools." The Congressional act of 1803 "vested in trust in the legislature all lands appropriated by the United States for the support of schools." The legislature of Ohio tried to lease the lands for fifteen years, but settlers wished to buy lands, not lease them. The state then planned to lease the lands for ninety-nine years, but this met with only small success. Ohio finally applied to Congress for authority to sell the school lands outright. Congress made no reply, for it had already made Ohio the trustee for the school lots of the state.[1] In 1827, the Ohio legislature made plans for the sale of these lands as follows:

(1) The sale of Lot No. 16 was to be voted on by the people of each township.

(2) If the township favored the sale, the lands were to be appraised and not sold below the appraisement.

(3) On payment in full by the purchaser, a deed in fee simple was to be made by the state.

These school lands were thrown upon the market in competition with the lands owned by the United States and by the Ohio and Symmes companies. They were consequently sold at a very low price to investors and settlers.

The money thus covered into the state treasury was credited to the township to which it belonged and the interest paid to the school officials of the township. The investment of this money became a considerable problem. An act of the Ohio legislature in 1837 provided that the school funds might be loaned to the state, to counties, or to the Canal Fund, at six per cent interest, five sixths of which was to go to the township. Finally the state took the whole fund and spent it for its temporary needs, substituting for it an "irreducible debt" bearing interest at six per cent. This interest is raised by general taxation; the land endowment, therefore, became a burden to the taxpayers, quite contrary to the plain intent of the Federal legislation authorizing the grants.

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[1] Swift (work cited), p. 108. Cubberley and Elliott, p. 36, state that Congress granted Ohio permission to sell in 1826.

The grant of Lot No. 16 in Ohio was really a grant to the township instead of to the state. This is true also in the case of other early states, — Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, Louisiana, and Missouri, — and is a clear expression of the old "neighborhood" conception of educational responsibility and control. The complications following this plan were obviated by making the later grants of Lot No. 16 directly to the states; thus, in a quite fortuitous way, an important step was taken toward the recognition of the state as the prime unit of educational administration. This policy permitted the establishment of permanent state funds derived from the proceeds of the sales of school lands. These funds, in turn, necessitated some equitable plan of distribution. The inadequacy of the funds led naturally to state systems of taxation in aid of education, and thus the policy of state support for local schools gradually evolved.

The Land Ordinance of 1785 related only to the lands ceded by the original states to the United States. In 1826, Congress passed an act which ordered that the sixteenth section of all lands ceded by France (the "Louisiana Purchase") should "be reserved and appropriated for the use of schools."

The states that received the sixteenth section as an endowment for public schools are shown below:

Date of Grant	State	Acres Received
1803, March 3	Ohio	710,610[1]
1803, March 3	Alabama	901,725
1803, March 3	Mississippi	838,329[2]
1806, April 21	Louisiana	798,085[3]
1816, April 19	Indiana	601,049
1818, April 18	Illinois	985,141
1820, March 6	Missouri	1,162,137
1836, June 23	Arkansas	928,057
1836, June 23	Michigan	1,003,573
1845, March 3	Florida	1,053,653
1845, March 3	Iowa	978,578
1846, August 6	Wisconsin	958,649

When the proposals for admitting Wisconsin as a state were before Congress in the early months of 1848, Congressman John A. Rockwell, of Connecticut, moved that the thirty-sixth section in each township also be given for schools. This motion did not prevail. But in August, 1848, Congress authorized the reservation of sections sixteen and thirty-six "in the states and territories hereafter to be created out of the Territory of Oregon." A table is inserted below to show the date and amount of the grants by Congress under the Oregon Territory Act, sections 16 and 36 being thereby reserved for schools.

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[1] Two townships were for a university.

[2] This includes also the settlements of 1852 and 1857.

[3] This includes a settlement in 1843.

DATE OF GRANT	STATE	ACRES RECEIVED
1850, September 9	New Mexico	4,309,369
1853, March 2	Washington	2,448,675
1853, March 3	California	5,610,702
1857, February 26	Minnesota	2,969,991
1859, February 14	Oregon	3,387,520
1861, January 29	Kansas	2,876,124
1861, February 28	Montana	5,102,107
1861, March 2	North Dakota	2,531,200
1861, March 2	South Dakota	2,813,511
1863, March 3	Idaho	3,063,271
1864, March 21	Nevada	3,985,422[1]
1864, April 19	Nebraska	2,637,155
1864, May 26	Arizona	4,050,346
1868, July 25	Wyoming	3,368,924
1875, March 3	Colorado	3,715,555

These tables show the facts for all of the states except those in which unusual cases have arisen. These cases may be briefly reviewed.

The original thirteen states received no lands from the Federal Government for the support of schools primarily because the Federal Government did not own any land lying within these commonwealths. Each of the original states was, of course, free to set aside its own state-owned lands for school purposes and several of them did so, notably New York and Georgia, while Pennsylvania early made grants of state lands to academies.[1]

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[1] Instead of this grant, Nevada elected to select 2,000,000 acres without reference to the sections in which the land was located.

Vermont was originally included in New Hampshire, Maine was a part of Massachusetts, and Kentucky and West Virginia were parts of Virginia. Texas came into the Union after she had been recognized as "a free and independent Republic" by our country. However, Texas had set aside before entering the Union 17,712 acres in each county for the support of schools, and owned all lands within her borders. There was, consequently, neither the need nor the opportunity for Congress to take action with respect to the reservation of school lands in Texas.

Tennessee was admitted to the Union in 1796. Congress retained title to the public lands in the new state, for North Carolina had, in 1789, ceded to the United States "the sovereignty and territory" of all lands within the present limits of Tennessee. In 1806, Congress granted to Tennessee the public lands within the state on which the Indian title had lapsed. The state then ordered these lands surveyed and set aside one section in each township to be "appropriated for the use of schools for the instruction of children forever."

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[1] See table in Swift's *Permanent Funds*, p. 85.

The grant of September 9, 1850, to Utah was exceedingly generous because the lands were supposed to be of small value. Four sections in each township — the second, sixteenth, thirty-second, and thirty-sixth — were set aside for the use of schools. This amounted to 6,007,182 acres.

Oklahoma presents the only other unusual case. Oklahoma as a territory had two reserved sections in each township and was granted authority by Congress in 1891 to lease these lands for not more than three years, the rental to be used for public schools together with $50,000 granted by Congress for the same purpose. When it was decided to unite the Indian Territory with Oklahoma Territory to form the new state, Congress faced the fact that the title to the lands in the former was vested in the Indians. In lieu of school lands in the old Indian Territory, therefore, it was decided to give Oklahoma five million dollars which became a part of the permanent school fund upon the admission of the state.

Interesting as it would be to trace the history of the management and mismanagement of the proceeds of these federal land grants in the several states, the details cannot be recorded here. The interested reader is referred to the illuminating treatise by F. H. Swift, *Public Permanent Common School Funds in the United States*, — a book to which the present writers are deeply indebted. The most recent authoritative utterance on the matter is from the pen of the State Treasurer of Wisconsin, Henry Johnson:[1]

> "If the State of Wisconsin had not practically given away its valuable school lands years ago, we would not have to raise any school taxes for generations to come. In years gone by the State sold hundreds of thousands of acres of fine timber land for a mere song. Had that timber been preserved by the State it would now pay the entire amount due the Wisconsin soldiers under the bonus law, pay all the cost of soldier education under the Nye bill, and in addition the interest on the balance would maintain the schools of the State for generations to come without raising one cent for school purposes by taxation."

But one should not be too regretful. Even though the full benefits of the "endowment magnificent" were not realized, the results were far beyond what the original promoters of the grants could possibly have dreamed. The states that received these bountiful grants of land were able to start schools as fast as the population appeared. There was no long waiting as in the colonial days. The Nation *as a nation* had set its sanction upon free education. The framework for schools was already established in the Land Act of 1785, the Ordinance of 1787, and the "Enabling Act" admitting each new state. The "school lot" was in each township a constant reminder to the people that education and democracy must go hand in hand. The wilderness had one redeeming and crowning glory, — the public school on a substantial basis. "The ark of the covenant," the compact drawn up in the cabin of the Mayflower, and the dedication of Lot No. 16 in the great national domain were alike promise and fact, — were dream and reality at one and the same time. While the free public school did not have its origin in the Land Ordinance of 1785, it may be truthfully said that this great measure has contributed more to the cause of universal education in our country than has any other legislative act. Its influence was not limited to the West; the backwash from the tide of western emigration did much to confirm and strengthen the foundations that had already been laid in the seaboard states.

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[1] Mr. Johnson's statement appeared in the Oshkosh, Wisconsin, *Daily Northwestern* of Sept. 30, 1919.

Lot No. 16 was an inducement to settlement, but it was also incentive to the realization of the school as a community enterprise. The coöperation which the school begot became the very essence of community life. There was discussion, of course, and difference of opinion; but these were never allowed to go so far as to break up the coöperation which was necessary to carry forward the deepest common interest of all. It is not at all extravagant to say that the *free public school* was, in pioneer days, the visible and tangible embodiment of the freedom, equality, fraternity, justice, and right that democracy means. With all of its defects and shortcomings, it has ever been, and still is, this visible embodiment of the social ideal of democracy.

There has been no parallel in all history to the development that took place in this wonderful land of unexampled richness. It would be extravagant to claim that any one social institution was the basal cause of this marvelous development. It may be truthfully said, however, that the free public school has always served the community in proportion to the vision of the community in providing for its support.

The purpose of this chapter has been to show that Congress from 1785 has been granting public lands to the states in aid of education. Although the Constitution is silent on the subject of education, those who framed the Constitution in 1787 were not ignorant of what Congress had done in 1785 nor were they unmindful of the cession of lands by the states to the Federal Government, for four states — New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut — had ceded their claims before the Constitutional Convention met, and South Carolina completed hers while the Convention was still in session (August 9, 1787). One is clearly justified, therefore, in assuming that the famous phrase, "to promote the general welfare," includes the power and the duty of Congress to promote education in the states by encouraging the establishment and adequate maintenance of schools.

CHAPTER V

LAND GRANTS FOR STATE UNIVERSITIES

AN important name in the early history of American education is that of Manasseh Cutler. Representing a group desirous of purchasing a large tract of land in Ohio, he began negotiations with Congress at the time when the Ordinance of 1787 was under discussion. As a clergyman, his interest was not only in colonization but also in education. It may be that he thought the Ordinance of 1787 inadequate in its educational provisions; in any case, only ten days after the Ordinance of 1787 had been passed, the Continental Congress passed two other closely related acts. Of these, the act of July 23, 1787, reaffirmed the disposal of lands by the act of May 20, 1785, and consequently safeguarded Lot No. 16. The other act authorized a sale of lands in Ohio to the Ohio Company and also provided "that land not amounting to more than two townships be given perpetually for the purpose of an university, to be laid off by the purchasers as near the center of the tract as may be."[1] Mr. A. D. Mayo, a careful student of American educational history, says: "By the insistence of Dr. Cutler, as the condition of the Ohio purchase, there was inserted the additional provision of two additional townships of the state for a university, and one for the support of an educated ministry." [1]

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[1] Quoted from U. S. Com. Report, 1901, Vol. I, p. 130. The act itself is found in the Laws of the United States.

This act of the Continental Congress of July 23, 1787, made the first Federal grant of land for university purposes. It had its precedent, of course, in colonial action. John Harvard, "a godly gentleman and a lover of learning," gave one half of his estate, about seventeen hundred pounds, and all of his library toward the establishment of a college. Others subscribed, "all did something, even the indigent." "*And the publique hand of the State added the rest*" — a sum of four hundred pounds. Harvard was a Congregational college established that "the light of learning might not go out, nor the study of God's Word perish." Yale, like Harvard, was Congregational, and Dr. Cutler was a graduate of Yale. The group associated with Dr. Cutler was organized to found a colony, and they had to go to the central authority for the right to establish it. This central authority to which Dr. Cutler appealed was the Continental Congress that had, two years before, set aside Lot No. 16 for the support of public schools. What more natural than an appeal to Congress for college lands? In a letter written to his son in 1818, Dr. Cutler says:

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[1] U. S. Com. Report, 1893-4, Vol. I, p. 738.

"The fact is, the people of Ohio are wholly indebted to me for procuring the grant of those townships [for the University] and the ministers' lands in the Ohio Company's purchase; and indeed for similar grants in Judge Symmes's purchase. When I applied to Congress for the purchase, no person, to my knowledge, had an idea of asking for such grants. When I mentioned it to Mr. Sargent and others friendly to the measure, they were rather opposed, fearing it would occasion an increased price for the lands. I had previously contemplated the vast benefit that must be derived from it in future time, and I made every exertion to obtain it. Mr. Sargent, indeed, cordially united with me in endeavoring to surmount the difficulties which appeared in the way, till the object was attained. . . . It is well known to all concerned with me in transacting the business of the Ohio Company that the establishment of a University was a first object, and lay with great weight on my mind."

The statements in this letter are borne out by certain other facts. The act of May 20, 1785, set apart Lot No. 16, but —

"Dr. Cutler was not satisfied with this provision, and demanded that Congress should donate in addition one section in every township for the support of an educated ministry, and two entire townships for the establishment and support of a university. This new claim was resisted by members of Congress. One bill passed authorizing the Ohio Company's purchase, but without these additional reservations; and Dr. Cutler would not accept it. He packed his trunk, made his parting calls, said he should leave the town immediately, and make his purchase of some of the States. (Massachusetts owned Maine and New Hampshire claimed Vermont.) This was somewhat of a ruse on his part, and it turned out as he expected. Members flocked to his room and entreated him to remain, and they would try to get more favorable terms. He wrote out these conditions as a *sine qua non* on which he would make the contract, and brought Congress to vote precisely the terms he dictated."[1]

It should be stated that Dr. Cutler proposed to buy one and a half million acres for the Ohio Company and about four million acres for other groups.[2] As he was the first bidder for any part of the recently acquired public domain, and as the money would go into the common treasury, the members of Congress were greatly interested in his views, not only regarding the conditions of the purchase itself but also regarding the larger policies embodied in the Ordinance of 1787.

The result of this grant was the Ohio University, at Athens, Ohio. The articles of incorporation of this institution, its first course of study, and its first faculty are further evidences of Dr. Cutler's devotion to his idea, — an idea that has been of untold benefit in all of the states formed from the national domain, and the influence of which will continue as long as "the Ohio shall flow." This grant to the Ohio Company, following as it did upon the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, was, in part, an explicit interpretation of the intent of Congress that was embodied in the famous declaration: "Religion, morality and knowledge, being essential to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

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[1] "Dr. Cutler and the Ordinance of 1787," by W. F. Poole, in *North American Review*, 1876, pp. 262–3. The entire article is illuminating. See also the *Life of M. Cutler* by W. P. and J. P. Cutler for details.

[2] The contract was signed on October 27, 1787.

Before reviewing the grants for the founding of universities in other states, it will be well to see what was done with respect to education in the Constitutional Convention which was at this time in session in Philadelphia, and which Dr. Cutler desired to "look in upon" while there between July 11 and July 17, 1787.

On Monday, August 18, 1787, just twenty-six days after Congress had authorized the contract with the Ohio Company, Madison made several proposals that were referred to the Committee on Detail. Among these were the following:

> "To establish seminaries for the promotion of the arts and sciences."
>
> "To establish public institutions, rewards, and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, commerce, trade, and manufacture."

The Committee on Detail never directly reported on these matters, and they were not included in the final draft of the Constitution. When the final draft was being considered, Mr. Madison, Mr. Pinckney, and Mr. Wilson moved to insert among the powers of Congress a power "to establish an University in which no preference or distinctions should be allowed on account of religion." To understand the argument very briefly urged in opposition by Gouverneur Morris, it is necessary to know that it had already been agreed that Congress was to acquire and have full and exclusive control over a tract ten miles square which was to be the seat of government. Madison in his "Journal" quotes Gouverneur Morris as saying: "It [the granting of power to Congress to establish a university] is not necessary. The exclusive power at the seat of government will reach the object."

What we actually have in the Constitution is the declaration of purpose "to promote the general welfare," the general implied powers (Article I, Section 8, Clause 18), and the provision that "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States" (Article IV, Section 3, Clause 2). "Other property" certainly includes money, and Congress, as we shall see later, has appropriated money for educational purposes by the authority of the clause just quoted, maintaining that the educational purposes embodied in the legislation were "to promote the general welfare."

The Tenth Amendment, the last of the first group of additional safeguards that our forefathers desired to have explicitly set forth rather than risk them to the vicissitudes of being merely "understood," is very definite. It provides that —

> "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." [1]

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[1] In force since November 3, 1791.

The organization, supervision, and administration of education are functions of sovereignty. This right is, by the Tenth Amendment, reserved to the states because the Constitution neither delegates it to the United States nor prohibits it to the states. But even while the Constitution was in process of adoption, even while the Tenth Amendment was being adopted, before that time, and since that time, the United States has been promoting education. To maintain, as some do, that Congress can grant land but not money in aid of education is to ignore the Constitution and the history that has been wrought out under it.

To return to the theme of this chapter, — the granting of lands for the establishment of universities: Mention has already been made of the Symmes Purchase which, in accordance with a Congressional act of authorization, was completed by signatures on September 30, 1794. This tract was in southwestern Ohio, including what is now Cincinnati and extending northward; it embraced 311,682 acres. The contract provided for the reservation of Lot No. 16 and also of one complete township, to be held in trust for the purpose of establishing "an academy and other seminaries of learning." It was upon this foundation that Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, was established, and the title to the township still is held in trust for this institution. The lands of this school and of the Ohio University at Athens[1] were leased for ninety years with a clause that provided revaluation every thirty years. Action of the Legislature and the decisions of the State Supreme Court, however, have substantially made the leases perpetual on a very low valuation of the land. These leaseholds pass from one person to another by conveyance just as titles to land are transferred in other townships of the state. Meanwhile, the universities at Oxford and Athens derive only a very small annual income from what should be to-day a most generous endowment.

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[1] See p. 38.

The policy established by the two grants to colonizing companies became, by precedent, the policy of the Federal government. Upon the admission of a state, it was granted land for a university. The grant was usually two townships, but in some cases it was more. Occasionally, the grant was conditionally made to a territory before statehood had been attained. In 1889, the policy was changed, as will be shown in a later chapter,[1] so that large blocks of land were given for specific educational ends in lieu of the separate grants that were formerly made.

The following table shows the acreage of the Federal grants for universities, excluding, of course, the very large grants that were made following the first Morrill Act of 1862. A few notes, explanatory of exceptional cases,[2] follow the table.

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[1] See pp. 51–52.

[2] A most excellent tabular arrangement is found in U. S. Com. of Edn. Report, 1896–1897, pp. 1151–1161.

State	Area of Grant in Acres	State	Area of Grant in Acres
Alabama	92,160	Montana	146,560 or 196,080
Arizona	396,080	Nebraska	46,080
Arkansas	46,080	Nevada	46,080
California	52,480	New Mexico	397,703
Colorado	46,080	North Dakota	126,080
Florida	92,160	Ohio	69,120
Idaho	95,080 or 196,080	Oklahoma	635,514
Illinois	46,080	Oregon	46,080
Indiana	69,286 or 72,662	South Dakota	126,080
Iowa	40,080 or 50,080	Tennessee	100,000
Kansas[1]	46,080	Texas[3,4]	2,378,550
Louisiana	46,080	Utah	256,080
Michigan[2]	48,080	Washington[5]	46,080 or 146,080
Minnesota	92,160	Wisconsin	92,160
Mississippi	69,120	Wyoming	46,080
Missouri	46,080		

Almost every session of Congress sees some change made in the grants, and always it is an addition. For example, the Fifty-ninth Congress granted thirty-two acres of the Fort Douglas Military Reservation to the University of Utah. It also appropriated to California five per cent of the net proceeds of the cash sales of public lands "which have been heretofore made since the admission of said state, or may hereafter be made in said state, to aid the support of the public or common schools." The facts are constantly changing, — but the appropriations never grow less.

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[1] The acreage for Kansas includes one tenth of the saline lands that were granted to the state.

[2] Michigan also received three townships in 1817 by the treaty of Fort Meigs. These were sold for $5000.

[3] Texas came into the Union as an independent Republic, and she has set aside 2,378,550 acres for her state university, much of it being land suitable for grazing only.

[4] Granted by Republic of Texas, 378,550; by State of Texas, 2,000,000.

[5] 100,000 acres on admission.

The grants for these institutions have not always been used wisely by the states. Lands that have been sold at $3.00 an acre when belonging to the university grants have, in the following year, brought $25.00 an acre. There is, indeed, much in the management of these university grants that gives cause for regret; but there are also many substantial achievements that would not have been brought about, had it not been for the educational incentive to the states which the grants of land created. Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, said in Congress in 1803, on the question of voting land to the Ohio School Fund:

> "I believe that the appropriation, while it protects the interests of literature, will enhance the value of property. Can we suppose that emigration will not be promoted by it, and that the value of lands will not be enhanced by the emigrant obtaining the fullest education for his children? and is it not better to receive two dollars an acre with an appropriation for schools than seventy-five cents an acre without such appropriation? Indubitably it is. Gentlemen who are not operated upon by this principle, and a desire to establish a liberal provision for schools, will vote against the bill."[1]

The argument of Mr. Randolph is valid in the economic sense; but the social increment that comes from universities is of inestimably greater value.

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[1] *Annals of Congress*, 7th Congress, 2d Session, p. 586.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER FEDERAL LAND GRANTS IN AID OF EDUCATION

A. SALT LANDS

CHAPTER IV dealt entirely with Lot No. 16 and its associate, Lot No. 36. Closely connected with and related to grants of this kind are the so-called *saline*, or salt land, grants. These saline lands were first granted to Ohio, a total of 24,216 acres, but Congress did not specify to what use the proceeds from lease or sale should be devoted. Ohio, however, used the proceeds for public schools and has made the fund thus accumulated a part of her irreducible debt. Indiana also received 23,040 acres of saline lands. In 1832, Indiana requested the permission of Congress to sell them. Congress replied, fixing a minimum price and decreeing that the proceeds should be devoted to education. This showed the intention of Congress. The fourteen states that received salt lands are listed on the following page.

Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, and Arkansas used the proceeds for schools. Wisconsin gave the two townships to the University. Michigan gave 16,000 acres for normal-school purposes and 30,080 acres toward an agricultural college. Kansas gave 30,380 acres for normal schools, and 4,608 acres to the University. Nebraska gave 30,380 acres for normal schools. Iowa divided her salt lands between public schools and the agricultural college.

STATE	ACRES	DATE
Alabama	23,040	1819
Arkansas	46,080	1836
Colorado	46,080	1876
Illinois	121,029	1818
Indiana	23,040	1816
Iowa	46,080	1846
Kansas	46,080	1861
Michigan	46,080	1837
Minnesota	46,080	1858
Missouri	46,080	1821
Nebraska	46,080	1867
Ohio	22,216	1802
Oregon	46,080	1859
Wisconsin	46,080	1848

As evidence of the slight value of most of the salt lands, it may be stated that four states failed to qualify according to the law which demanded that the lands be selected within a year. These states are Louisiana (1812), Mississippi (1817), California (1850), and Nevada (1864).

B. INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT GRANTS

Congress in 1841 granted to each of eight states — Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, and Missouri — 500,000 acres of unappropriated government land located within each state, for "purposes of internal improvements." Congress extended the same grant to states that might be admitted later, and also provided that any grants previously made to a state for "purposes of internal improvement" should be deducted from this amount. States admitted in 1889, and since that time, have received specific grants for specific purposes. The nineteen states receiving 500,000-acre grants for internal improvements by the act of 1841 and the act of admission into the Union are:

Alabama	1819	Michigan	1837
Arkansas	1836	Minnesota	1858
California	1850	Mississippi	1817
Colorado	1876	Missouri	1821
Florida	1845	Nebraska	1867
Illinois	1818	Nevada	1864
Indiana	1816	Ohio	1802
Iowa	1846	Oregon	1859
Kansas	1861	Wisconsin	1848
Louisiana	1812		

Some of the states used this money for roads, bridges, and railways. Others devoted all or a considerable portion of it to educational uses. The following statements show the facts:

California, 1850, gave all to a perpetual common school fund.

Iowa, 1846, gave all to a perpetual common school fund.

Kansas, 1861, set aside all for common school support by her constitution, but this seems never to have been confirmed by subsequent legislative enactment.

Nebraska gave all to the school fund.

Nevada, 1864, all to a fund for educational purposes.

Oregon, 1859, all to the common school fund.

Wisconsin, 1848, all to the school fund.

Mississippi, in 1868, gave the remaining balance, 21,000 acres, for schools.

Alabama, in 1848, gave her lands for schools.

Florida devoted her lands to school purposes.

From the educational standpoint, the objection to such grants as the above is that they are permissive instead of mandatory so far as school support is concerned. When we consider the views of the time, however, we are forced to the conclusion that these land grants for internal improvements, as well as special grants for building roads, were considered as an offset to the national expenditures for lighthouses and harbor-improvements by which the seaboard states profited greatly. It is indeed noteworthy that any state before 1860 should have devoted all or even a part of this land to educational uses, for there was the greatest need for internal improvements. The wonder is increased on reading the provisions of the act of 1841 for, after fixing the price of the lands at $1.25 per acre, it specifically says: ". . . and net proceeds of the sales of said lands shall be faithfully applied to the objects of internal improvements within the states aforesaid, respectively, namely; roads, railways, bridges, canals and improvements of water courses, and draining of swamps."

C. SWAMP LANDS

The public lands were plentiful in the early days. In 1812, Congress offered a bounty of land to those in the

Northwest Territory who would enlist in the war against Great Britain. These bounty lands were located in Michigan. After the war was over, the soldiers who went into Michigan were not satisfied with the lands, maintaining that they were swampy. Congress thereupon reserved other lands in Indiana and in Illinois. It became evident that Congress would have the greatest difficulty in disposing of these swamp lands. Accordingly, in 1849, on application, Louisiana was granted all the swamp and overflowed land within the state, on the understanding that the proceeds should be used to drain the land and construct levees along the rivers. In 1850, the swamp-land law was extended to Arkansas and "to each of the other states of the Union in which swamp and overflowed lands may be situated." In 1855, Congress gave to the states in which swamp lands had been sold by the Government certain other lands as "indemnity lands." Two years later, the swamp and overflowed lands that had been reported by the states were specifically appropriated to them. In 1860, Minnesota and Oregon were given "swamp-land" rights and privileges, and Kansas, Nebraska, and Nevada were specifically excluded. California, in 1866, was the last state to receive "swamp lands."

These "swamp and overflowed lands" were an indefinite quantity. The states claimed much and kept on filing their claims from time to time. Consequently, there is a difference between what was claimed and what was awarded to the states by the General Land Office. The following table shows the acreage claimed by the fifteen states which were affected by the swamp-land grants:

State	Claimed (1896)	State	Claimed (1896)
Alabama	531,355.60	Michigan	7,243,159.28
Arkansas	8,656,372.39	Minnesota	4,738,549.78
California	1,887,685.23	Mississippi	3,603,921.68
Florida	22,244,541.07	Missouri	4,843,636.09
Illinois	3,981,784.10	Ohio	117,931.28
Indiana	1,377,727.70	Oregon	434,428.45
Iowa	4,570,132.33	Wisconsin	4,569,712.12
Louisiana	11,769,455.83		

Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri gave the "net proceeds" of the sale of swamp lands to their school funds. Mississippi hesitated, but finally so disposed of its allotment in 1868. The Constitution of Alabama in 1868 put the swamp-land proceeds into the school fund, but no trace of the fund can now be found. Illinois provided for drainage, and the surplus was to go into the school fund. Wisconsin gave half of the fund to normal schools. Minnesota gave one half to schools and one half to charitable institutions. Oregon gave a part of the proceeds to schools. California gave all to the University of California, — creating a fund probably in excess of $1,000,000. Michigan gave $972,606 of the proceeds to the school fund and 6961 acres to the agricultural college.

D. SPECIFIC GRANTS

Reference has been made to the specific grants that began in 1889, and which were to replace the grants of different names that had grown into use since 1785. These are in lieu of all grants except the section grants for the common schools and include almost as wide a range of titles as the representatives of the territories seeking admission could formulate. On the next page will be found a table of these specific grants, quoted from Cubberley and Elliott's *State and County School Administration*, Volume II, p. 62.

TABLE, SHOWING THE SPECIFIC GRANTS OF PUBLIC LANDS MADE TO THE TEN NEW STATES ADMITTED SINCE THE ADMISSION OF COLORADO, IN 1876, AND MADE IN LIEU OF THE SWAMP LANDS AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS GRANTS PREVIOUSLY MADE TO OTHER STATES (Compiled from the Enabling Acts.)

GRANTS, AND ACRES, BY STATES	NORTH DAKOTA 1889	SOUTH DAKOTA 1889	MONTANA 1889	WASHINGTON 1889	WYOMING 1890	IDAHO 1890	UTAH 1897	OKLAHOMA 1907	NEW MEXICO 1911	ARIZONA 1911	TOTAL GRANTS IN ACRES
State University	40,000[1]	40,000[1]				50,000[1]	110,000[1]	250,000[3]	200,000	200,000	890,000
University Preparatory School								150,000[3]			150,000
School of Mines	40,000	40,000	100,000				100,000		150,000	150,000	580,000
Agricultural College	40,000[2]	40,000[2]	50,000[2]	100,000[2]		100,000[2]	200,000[3]	250,000[3]	60,000[2]	60,000[2]	900,000
Colored Agricultural and Mining College								100,000[3]			100,000
State Normal Schools	80,000	80,000	100,000	100,000		100,000	100,000	300,000[3]	200,000	200,000	1,260,000
Military Institutes									100,000	100,000	200,000
Reform Schools	40,000	40,000	50,000				100,000				230,000
Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Asylums	40,000	40,000	50,000		30,000		200,000		100,000	100,000	560,000
Charitable, Penal and Reformatory Institutions	170,000	170,000		200,000	290,000	150,000		706,540 (Sec. 33)	100,000	100,000	1,886,540
Insane Asylums					30,000	50,000	100,000				180,000
Hospital for Disabled Nurses					30,000		50,000		50,000	50,000	180,000
Poor Farm					10,000						10,000
Penitentiaries					30,000	50,000			100,000	100,000	280,000
Fish Hatchery					5,000						5,000
Public Buildings	50,000	50,000	150,000	100,000	75,000				100,000	100,000	625,000
Water Reservoirs and Irrigation							500,000				500,000
To Pay County Bonds (any surplus to school fund)									1,000,000	1,000,000	2,000,000
Total acres granted	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000	1,460,000	1,756,540 706,540[4] 2,463,080[1]	2,160,000	2,160,000	10,536,540
Minimum sale price per acre	$10.00	$10.00	$10.00	$10.00	$10.00	$10.00		Appraised Value	$3, $5, and $25	$3, and $25	

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[1] In addition to the two townships (46,080 acres) previously granted for a university.

[2] In addition to lands granted for a College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, under the law of 1862.

[3] In addition to their share in the proceeds of Section 13, granted for universities, agricultural colleges, and normal schools.

[4] From Section 13 grant.

CHAPTER VII

MONEY GRANTS IN SUPPORT OF EDUCATION

A. THE "FIVE PER CENT" FUNDS

THE grants by the Federal Government in aid of education have not been limited to lands, but the huge aggregate of the land grants and their distribution throughout the country have combined to make the public familiar with this type of endowment, while the facts regarding the money grants are far less widely known.

The first grant of money was to the State of Ohio in the act of April 30, 1802, but it was not for educational purposes. Five per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands in Ohio, after June 30, 1803, was to be given to the state for "laying out and making public roads." The act admitting Illinois, passed in 1818, donated to the state five per cent of the net sales of the public lands within its borders, with the proviso that two fifths should be spent under the direction of Congress, in making roads leading to the state; "the residue to be appropriated, by the legislature of the state, for the encouragement of learning, of which one-sixth part shall be exclusively bestowed on a college or university." In order to make use of this fund, the first normal school established in that state, in 1857, was called the Illinois State Normal *University*.

TABLE. — THE "FIVE PER CENT FUNDS"[1]

STATE	AGGREGATE JUNE 30, 1913	EDUCATIONAL USE AS SHOWN
Alabama	$ 1,077,904.72	
Arizona	1,652.99	Schools
Arkansas	324,911.00	
California	1,080,053.26	State school fund
Colorado	460,478.30	
Florida	137,336.06	
Idaho	241,833.36	Schools
Illinois	1,187,908.89	3% of proceeds to education
Indiana	1,040,255.26	
Iowa	633,638.10	Permanent school fund
Kansas	1,125,469.41	For support of common schools
Louisiana	468,187.89	10% to free-school fund
Michigan	587,068.52	Schools
Minnesota	588,283.08	
Mississippi	1,069,926.62	
Missouri	1,060,430.61	
Montana	404,245.88	Schools
Nebraska	559,394.45	Permanent school fund
Nevada	32,124.58	Educational purposes
New Mexico	121,040.78	Schools
North Dakota	529,027.11	Permanent school fund
Ohio	999,117.89	
Oklahoma	59,117.89	Common schools
Oregon	707,016.11	Common schools
South Dakota	308,068.20	Permanent school fund
Utah	81,694.78	
Washington	396,930.35	Common-school fund
Wisconsin	586,408.58	School fund
Wyoming	213,387.64	Perpetual common-school fund
Total	$16,093,417.43	

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[1] This table has been prepared from facts given by Cubberley and Elliott, *State and County School Administration*, p. 48 (quoted from *Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office*), and from data in Part II of Swift's *Public Permanent Common School Funds*.

The clause setting aside a portion of the five per cent fund to the use of education did not again occur until about 1845 when the states themselves began to request it. Twenty-nine states have received such funds from the Federal Government and practically every state admitted since 1860 must apply them to educational uses. The Enabling Act of Oklahoma (1906) makes this five per cent fund into a permanent fund, "the interest only of which shall be expended for the support of the common schools within said State."

The table on the preceding page shows the aggregate of such funds on June 30, 1913, and the educational uses to which they must be put where such usage has been either required by Congress or voluntarily decreed by the legislature of the state.

Many of the funds shown above are increasing as public lands are sold, — at a present rate of about $200,000 annually. No public lands remain in the older states, such as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, and therefore the funds have reached their maximum, but the Government still retains title to a substantial acreage in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast sections.

B. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURPLUS REVENUE

The largest single distribution of money by the Federal Government, however, was made by the act of June, 1836, which apportioned to the states a surplus of twenty-eight million dollars that had accumulated in the Federal treasury. The distribution, which was, legally, a deposit subject to the order of the Secretary of the Treasury but which has never been called for, was made on January 1, 1837; on that day all the money in the treasury except $5,000,000 was put on deposit with the states, the allotment made to the several states being "in proportion to their respective representation in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States." This was most favorable to the original states which had the largest population at that time and consequently the largest representation in Congress. For fifteen years or more some plan of giving money to the states that did not share in the educational land grants of Congress had been urged, and the act of 1836 was a step in this direction, but it was not the end of the effort, as will be shown later. The accompanying table[1] shows the distribution and uses of the Surplus Revenue Fund. It is particularly instructive in revealing the variations in their employment of Federal subventions when the purposes for which the money should be spent are not specified. That so large a proportion of the total amount distributed should have been used for education is significant when one remembers that but few states at that time had made substantial provisions for public schools.

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[1] Made from data in Swift's *Public Permanent Common School Funds*, pp. 74–78, and in Cubberley and Elliott's *State and County School Administration*, pp. 52–57.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURPLUS REVENUE, 1837

STATE	NO. IN CONGRESS	AMOUNT RECEIVED	DISPOSITION OR PRESENT USE
Alabama . . .	7	$ 669,088	Interest at 4% used for schools.
Arkansas . . .	3	286,751	Entire fund used by state and lost.
Connecticut . .	8	764,670	Distributed (except $1000) to the towns which still pay interest for use of schools.
Delaware . .	3	286,751	Invested in bank and railway stock. Income divided among the counties.
Georgia . . .	11	1,051,422	Poor-school fund 1840; lost in Civil War.
Illinois . . .	5	477,919	Two thirds used to pay the state's debt to the school fund. This was borrowed and spent by the state for internal improvements. State now pays 6% interest on $335,592 to the school fund.
Indiana . . .	9	860,254	In 1851, portion of fund then intact, $567,126, put into school fund.
Kentucky . .	15	1,433,754	In 1837, $850,000 put into school fund, but interest was used to pay state expenses. In 1851, school portion and interest due were capitalized at $1,326,770. State pays interest on this to school fund.
Louisiana . .	5	477,919	Used for state debts. Constitution of 1852 set aside interest for school fund. Constitution of 1864 repealed this provision. Since 1876, interest is paid by state to school fund.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURPLUS REVENUE, 1837 — *Continued.*

STATE	NO. IN CONGRESS	AMOUNT RECEIVED	DISPOSITION OR PRESENT USE
Maine . . .	10	$ 955,838	Distributed to towns and cities. A few used it for school purposes. Most of them distributed it per capita to their populations.
Maryland . .	10	955,838	$681,378 set aside for school fund. Money spent for internal improvements. $1000 of interest goes annually to education of blind and $34,069 is distributed to schools.
Massachusetts .	14	1,338,173	Deposited with towns. A few used it for education, but most of them for other town expenses.
Michigan . . .	3	286,751	Used for current expenses and an internal improvement fund.
Mississippi . .	4	332,355	Spent for state expenses by 1842.
Missouri . . .	4	332,355	Invested until it amounted to $500,000. Invested now in state bonds. Interest goes to common schools.
New Hampshire	7	669,086	Distributed among towns to be spent for any legal purpose. About fifty towns used the money for education.
New Jersey . .	8	746,670	Distributed to counties and by them to townships on basis of state tax paid. Used for schools, buildings, and other township expenses. About $600,000 is now a lost fund on which interest is paid annually by a tax.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURPLUS REVENUE, 1837—*Continued*

STATE	NO. IN CONGRESS	AMOUNT RECEIVED	DISPOSITION OR PRESENT USE
New York . .	42	$4,014,520	Deposited with counties to be loaned at seven per cent. Badly managed in some counties. About $334,000 has been lost. Income spent for schools, libraries, and principal of fund.
North Carolina	15	1,433,727	Used $100,000 for state expenses. Balance invested for school fund. Borrowed by State during Civil War and debt repudiated by state.
Ohio	21	2,007,260	Divided among counties on male population basis. Five per cent interest to be used for schools. State loaned about half for a canal project. Balance, not known, added to school fund.
Pennsylvania .	30	2,867,514	By 1840, whole of fund had been used for state expenses.
Rhode Island .	4	382,335	Deposited in banks. Interest for schools. In 1840, State began to borrow it. In 1859, the remainder, $155,541, was transferred to the permanent school fund.
South Carolina .	11	1,051,422	Invested in stocks, to the credit of the state. Lost in the Civil War.
Tennessee . .	15	1,433,727	Invested in stock of State bank; $118,000 of the interest was to go for schools and academies. Bank failed in Civil War. In 1866, an indebtedness

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURPLUS REVENUE, 1837 — *Continued*

STATE	NO. IN CONGRESS	AMOUNT RECEIVED	DISPOSITION OR PRESENT USE
			of the State to the school fund to the extent of $1,500,000 was recognized. Interest raised by tax goes to schools.
Vermont . . .	7	$ 669,086	Loaned to the towns — the interest to be used for schools. About 20% of the fund is in actual existence. 80% exists only as a "Credit Fund" or state debt.
Virginia . . .	23	3,198,427	In 1837, transferred $225,792 to "Literary" or School fund. Interest on this paid to the time of the Civil War. Fund lost.[1]

C. THE DISTRIBUTIVE ACT OF 1841

This distribution was so popular with the states that attempts were made similarly to distribute each year the net proceeds of public-land sales. No clear, continuing plan could be formulated, and so the act that was passed in September, 1841, was to lapse automatically (1) if the country became involved in a foreign war, (2) if the minimum sale price of lands was increased, or (3) if the tariff duties were advanced to a "higher rate than twenty per centum." With all these conditions imposed, the act could not remain long in force; indeed, the Tariff Act of August, 1842, put an end to it.

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[1] For a most carefully detailed account of each of these funds, see R. G. Bourne's *History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837*.

This "Distributive Act" of 1841 proposed:

(1) To give to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Michigan, each, an additional and clear ten per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands within their borders. This was over and above the percentages specified in the "compacts" of admission.

(2) After deducting from the net proceeds the percentages specified above, to divide the remainder among all the states of the Union, the District of Columbia, and the territories of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Florida, "according to their respective federal representative population as ascertained by the last census." Each state and territory was to be permitted to spend the money as it chose, but the share of the District of Columbia was to be "applied to free schools, or education in some other form."

Only one distribution was made under this act. The amount was $691,116.45. Tennessee put her share ($29,703.28) into the school fund. The District of Columbia received $1,643.72 for schools.[1] The plan was never revived.[2]

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[1] A complete statement of the distribution under the act of 1841 is to be found in Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 753.

[2] The provisions just quoted were the first part of the act which gave 500,000 acres of land to certain public-land states for internal improvements. The latter part of the act was not affected by the Tariff Act of

D. FORESTRY SERVICE RETURNS AND OTHER MINOR GRANTS

In 1908, the appropriation act for the Department of Agriculture included a provision "that hereafter twenty-five per centum of all money received from each forest reserve during any fiscal year, including the year 1908, shall be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury to the State or Territory in which said reserve is situated, to be expended as the State or Territorial legislature may prescribe for the benefit of the public schools and public roads of the county or counties in which the forest reserve is situated." The fund amounts to about $500,000 annually.

Maine had a claim against the Government for services rendered in the War of 1812. In 1823, the money thus received by Maine from the Federal Government through Massachusetts was made part of the school fund. Twelve years later, the legislature took this money out of the school fund and used it for general purposes.

The "Direct War Tax" of 1861 was returned to the states and territories by act of Congress in 1891. Three states added this money to their school funds: Massachusetts ($696,407), Kentucky ($606,641), and South Carolina.

In 1904, Vermont added $240,000 to her school fund

1842, and it has been applied, in substance and as already shown, to every state admitted since that time.

by appropriating the amount received from the Federal Government as reimbursement for moneys spent in the Spanish American War.

Congress appropriated money directly to Oklahoma in lieu of lands in Indian Territory, — a total of $5,000,000 (1906).[1]

The Federal Government provides the entire expense of education in Alaska and one half the cost of operating public schools in the District of Columbia.

One of the original states secured a grant of land for educational purposes, for, on March 3, 1819, Congress granted one township (23,040 acres) to the Connecticut Asylum for the education of deaf and dumb persons.

In 1906, Congress granted "to the Sisters of St. Francis 160 acres of land on which the St. Louis School, near Pawhuska, is located, and 160 acres on which the St. John's School, on Homing Creek, Osage Indian Reservation, is located."[2]

Practically every session of Congress has educational money grants or land grants to consider. The most famous of the land grants and the largest continuing money grant for educational purposes will be considered in the next chapter.

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[1] See p. 112.

[2] U. S. Com. Report, 1906, Vol. 2, p. 1239.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MORRILL ACTS AND THE "LAND-GRANT" COLLEGES

THE principles and policies involved in the foregoing forms of federal aid to education having been tested and established by experience, a new type of federal aid to higher technical instruction was destined to appear. The colleges and universities founded upon the township grants of land came into direct competition with existing colleges which were dependent to a large extent upon tuition from students and upon endowments the income from which had to be devoted to specific ends. Moreover, these new state colleges recruited most of their teachers from the older institutions. In consequence, the traditions and points of view of these older colleges determined very largely the policies of the state institutions. Beyond all this was the compelling force of a public opinion formed very largely by people who were familiar with the purposes and standards of the older colleges. Small wonder then that weak, struggling, pioneer colleges and "universities" had as their ideal from 1840 to 1860 the reproduction in the new lands of a Harvard, a Yale, or a Princeton. The presence, too, of many denominational colleges in the Middle West made the success of the public-land colleges uncertain.

Gradually, however, an ever-increasing opposition to the exclusively classical type of collegiate work grew up. This new point of view came to be called the "Industrial Movement," and may be looked upon as the initial educational expression of the great social and economic transformation that is now known as the Industrial Revolution. Although European in its origin, the Industrial Movement in education found a ready soil in America, both along the Atlantic seaboard and in the more remote parts of the country. In Michigan, the State Normal School[1] at Ypsilanti was the immediate result of this movement; so, too, in Illinois, the State Normal University at Normal. These schools "were to give instruction in husbandry, agricultural chemistry, and animal and vegetable physiology," as well as to prepare teachers for the public schools. In 1857, Michigan opened her State Agricultural College, the first fruit of the Industrial Movement in higher education, although Pennsylvania, in 1855, had established a "Farmers' High School" which in 1863 became the state's College of Agriculture.[2]

Before considering the comprehensive answer made by Congress to this demand for a more practical type of higher education, one other element should be noticed. The original states were never entirely satisfied with the disposal that had been made of the public lands.

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[1] Now the Michigan State Normal College.

[2] Now the Pennsylvania State College.

Even before the Land Ordinance of 1785, setting aside Lot No. 16, Maryland had memorialized the Continental Congress to make an equitable distribution of the land revenues among the original states whose sacrifices and endeavors had won the National domain. In fact, the Maryland legislature went so far as to make this concession a condition precedent to her acceptance of the Articles of Confederation.[1] While the distribution of the surplus revenue somewhat mollified the original states, the facts regarding this distribution gradually faded from the public mind, and by 1855 the states that had not shared in the benefits of Lot No. 16 were inclined to feel that Congress should do something in an educational way for them.

Such was the general situation when, in December, 1855, Justin S. Morrill appeared in Congress as representative from Vermont. He had been elected by a majority of only fifty-nine votes. Shortly before his election, at the age of about forty, he had given up his business and retired on a modest competence that had been accumulated within fifteen years. December, 1855, however, marks the beginning of his real career. Although he was forty-five years old at the time of his first election, he served twelve years in the House of Representatives and thirty-two years in the Senate. "He was equally the philosopher and the man of action. . . . Mere majorities had no meaning for him, except as they accorded with his own convictions of truth and duty. . . . He always gave the impression of one who walked by an inner light and drew the inspiration of his life from unseen and immortal springs."[1] Such was the man who during his remarkable service of forty-four years in Congress was the foremost exponent of the Industrial Movement in higher education. His substantial achievements have given him an enduring place in educational history. More than half a hundred flourishing colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts will keep his memory alive as long as the nation lives.

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[1] Maryland held persistently to this idea, and joined with Pennsylvania and other states in 1821 in a second memorial to Congress; indeed, it was not until 1825 that Maryland took any substantial steps toward establishing a public-school system. Even then the maintenance of schools was made optional with the counties, and the movement consequently failed.

The first Morrill Bill, providing for a land grant to each state for the establishment, endowment, and maintenance of an agricultural and mechanical college, was introduced in the House of Representatives in December, 1857. It was unfavorably reported in April, 1858, but with a minority report attached. Mr. Morrill made a clear and convincing speech. He contended that the money derived from the sale of the national domain should be equitably distributed to all sections of the country, that the policy of grants of land in aid of education was too well established to be opposed on constitutional grounds, and that to distribute this common fund as his bill proposed would greatly benefit the masses by putting the new discoveries of science at the disposal of agriculture and other industries. In spite of the adverse committee report, the vote in the House was 105 for, and 100 against, the Morrill Bill.

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[1] U. S. Com. Report, Vol. 2, 1899–1900, p. 1324. *The Legislative Career of Justin S. Morrill*, by G. W. Atherton, President Pennsylvania State College.

The bill, because of the violence of the opposition to it, was not brought up in the Senate until February, 1859. It was championed by Senator Wade of Ohio. The debate was stormy and a few amendments were made. Senator Clay, of Alabama, said:

> "The Federal Government is the creature of the States and is dependent upon them for its organization and operation. All its powers are subordinate to the States from whom they are derived. The States are in no wise dependent upon the Federal Government for their operation, organization, support, or maintenance. I stand as an ambassador from a sovereign State, no more subject to the control of the Federal Government, except in a few instances provided in the Constitution, than any foreign and independent State. This bill treats the States as agents instead of principals, as creatures instead of creators, and proposes to give them their own property and direct them how to use it."

Notwithstanding this argument and many others, the echoes of which are still heard occasionally in Congress, the bill passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-five to twenty-two. The House concurred in the amendments and — President Buchanan vetoed the measure on the ground that the Government was too poor to give up its sources of income for this purpose, and on the further ground that the bill was unconstitutional.

There was no thought of passing the measure over the President's veto, and so the bill disappeared until December, 1861, when Mr. Morrill reintroduced it in the House. Finding it impossible to get the bill considered by the House Committee because of the important war legislation that was pending, he had the bill introduced in the Senate by Senator Wade in May, 1862. On June 10, the Senate passed the bill by a vote of thirty-two to seven. The Senate bill then went over to the House and was passed by a vote of ninety to twenty-five on June 17. It was signed by President Lincoln on July 2, 1862.

This act, undoubtedly the most momentous law ever enacted in the interest of higher education, included the following provisions:

1. Each existing state and each new state admitted into the Union "shall be entitled to as many times 30,000 acres of public land (not mineral bearing) as it had in 1860 or has, at the time of its admission, representatives in both houses of Congress. When there is not enough (or no) public land within a state, scrip[1] shall be issued; but no state shall locate lands

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[1] Scrip is the name applied to a certificate, issued by the Federal Government or State, which entitles the owner to receive a specified allotment of land.

in another state save through assignees, nor shall any portion of land be located smaller than a quarter section."

This provision gave the older and more populous states the advantage and evened up the score. For example, New York received 900,000 acres and Iowa 240,000 acres. Practically every state that has entered the Union since 1862 has received only 90,000 acres under the provisions of this act, — 30,000 acres for each of its two senators and an equal amount for its representative.

2. Ten per cent or less of the entire gross proceeds of the grant could be used, if authorized by the legislature, in the purchase of land for sites or experimental farms.

3. The interest of the entire remaining gross proceeds of the grant were to be used "for the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

This provision obligated every state accepting the provisions and bounty of the act to maintain a college as a part of its public educational system. The college thus maintained was not to be a trade school, but a technical college with liberal features. The compulsory military-training work in these schools was included because of the existing war situation, and served the country in good stead in 1917, for it provided a large group of well-educated young men who understood the elements of military drill and who could begin, after a brief period of more intensive preparation, the preliminary training of troops.

4. "An annual report shall be made regarding the progress of each college, recording improvements and experiments made, with their cast and result, and such other matters, including state, industrial, and economic statistics, as may be useful, one copy of which shall be transmitted by mail free by each to all the other colleges of the same class, and one copy to the Secretary of the Interior."

This provision bound the colleges together, informing each of what the others were doing, and insuring that each would render a service to all.

5. The state legislature must formally accept the grant within three years, must establish at least one school of the character set forth above within five years, must replace all losses to the fund, must invest the entire gross proceeds, after making the permitted expenditures, in safe stocks yielding not less than five per cent on their par value, and must use the interest wholly

— excluding the purchase, erection, preservation, or repair of any building or buildings — in support of the school or schools established by the act.

This made the fund a "perpetual fund," to remain "forever undiminished," and to be "inviolably appropriated" to the purposes prescribed in the act. Such safeguards around the federal land grants from the beginning would have saved many millions of dollars to the cause of education.

This first Morrill Act gave to the states a grand total of 10,400,000 acres of land, the equivalent of 12,250 square miles, an area one and a half times as great as that of Massachusetts, or New Jersey, and just about equal to the area of Maryland. The distribution of this land to the several states is shown in the table on the following page.

One thing Congress failed to do, — it did not fix, in 1862, a minimum price for which the lands might be sold by the states. The college lands, therefore, came into competition with the unsold national lands. This competition tended to force the price down to the government price of $1.25 per acre. Some of the states that had no national lands within their borders even sold their scrip to an assignee, at as low a price as fifty to sixty cents an acre. The assignee then either sold his scrip to someone else or located his lands and sold them in the open market. Like Lot No. 16, the Morrill endowment fell far short of its possibilities.

Name of State	Acres Received under Grant	Acres Unsold	Date of Opening of Institution
Alabama	240,000	0	1872
Arizona	150,000	150,000	1891
Arkansas	150,000	0	1872
California	150,000	1,042	1869
Colorado	90,000	34,153	1879
Connecticut	180,000	0	1881
Delaware	90,000	0	1834
Florida	90,000	0	1884
Georgia	270,000	0	1872
Idaho	90,000	62,643	1892
Illinois	480,000	0	1868
Indiana	390,000	0	1874
Iowa	204,309	0	1869
Kansas	90,000	7,686	1863
Kentucky	330,000	0	1866
Louisiana	209,920	0	1860
Maine	210,000	0	1868
Maryland	210,000	0	1859
Massachusetts	360,000	0	1867
Michigan	235,663	50,485	1857
Minnesota	94,439	0	1851
Mississippi	209,920	0	1880
Missouri	277,067	47,287	1841
Montana	138,954	69,147	1893
Nebraska	90,000	1,727	1871
Nevada	90,000	14	1874
New Hampshire	150,000	0	1868
New Jersey	210,000	0	1864
New Mexico	150,000	91,909	1890
New York	989,920	0	1868
North Carolina	270,000	0	1889
North Dakota	130,000	35,843	1891
Ohio	629,920	0	1873
Oklahoma	250,000	250,000	1891
Oregon	89,908	920	1865
Pennsylvania	780,000	0	1859
Rhode Island	120,000	0	1890
South Carolina	180,000	0	1893
South Dakota	160,000	141,140	1884
Tennessee	300,000	0	1794
Texas	180,000	0	1876
Utah	200,000	51,781	1890
Vermont	149,920	0	1801
Virginia	300,000	0	1872
Washington	89,438	77,870	1892
West Virginia	150,000	0	1868
Wisconsin	240,005	40	1850
Wyoming	89,832	75,875	1887

Ezra Cornell, of New York, offered to take all of that state's scrip at sixty cents an acre, and to pay the state as he sold the land, with the understanding that all receipts above sixty cents an acre should become an endowment for a university. This offer was accepted. Mr. Cornell located the scrip in the white-pine district of Wisconsin, and eventually sold most of the land at an average price of $6.73 an acre. This gave Cornell University an endowment in excess of five and one half million dollars.

Pennsylvania sold most of her scrip for fifty-five cents an acre, and Ohio for fifty-four cents. While this low-priced selling now seems almost criminal, we must remember that each state was anxious to realize immediately on its scrip. The situation was uncertain. The Civil War was at its height, prices were soaring, the currency was inflated, — and the college had to be established within five years. In 1889, Congress corrected this defect in the law, and states coming into the Union since that time are given large blocks of land that cannot be sold until they will bring at least $10 an acre; the lands consequently are leased, under certain restrictions, until they can be sold for the price that has been fixed. The establishment of colleges, however, is not delayed; the lands thus conditioned are made security for bonds issued by the state, the state paying the interest annually and using the proceeds of the bonds for educational purposes.

These large blocks of land, as well as meeting the conditions of the first Morrill Act, are in lieu of former separate grants such as "internal-improvement grants," "salt lands," and "swamp and overflowed lands."

The colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts established in the several states under the provisions of this act were beset with difficulties during and following the Civil War. Their particular field was new; few teachers were qualified to do the specialized technical work demanded by their purpose; pertinent subject-matter was not abundant, for farming was still very largely an empirical art rather than an applied science; and the established colleges and universities were not friendly. All of these facts should be borne in mind by one who is disposed to criticize the early work of the agricultural colleges. By 1872, these new institutions were in need of additional Federal assistance. The proceeds from the sale of public lands kept pouring into the National Treasury. Senator Morrill wished to create from these receipts an endowment or permanent fund, the proceeds of which could be used only for the support of the state colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. Representative Hoar, of Massachusetts, was equally anxious to use the proceeds of such a permanent fund for the public schools of the several states, apportioning these funds to the states partly on a population basis and partly on an illiteracy basis. The two finally agreed to divide the proceeds of the fund equally at the outset, but the college fund was to be limited to $50,000 a year to each state while the common-school fund was to have no limit. Two bills drawn to meet this compromise passed the House in 1872, but were defeated in the Senate.

In 1873, Senator Morrill introduced a measure combining the two bills and Representative Hoar reintroduced his own bill in the House. Charges had been made that the land-grant institutions were not fulfilling the purpose for which they had been established, and Mr. James Monroe, of Ohio, moved to "investigate the colleges established under the grants of the Act of July 2, 1862." This investigation was completed in 1875 and Mr. Monroe himself made the report, — one entirely favorable to the colleges, — yet Senator Morrill's plan for a permanent cash endowment had to wait fifteen years after this report before it was written into law.

In 1887, March 2, the "Hatch Act" establishing an "Experiment Station" at each college of agriculture and mechanic arts was passed. This act provided an annual subsidy of $15,000 for each such college in order that original researches might be carried on and verifications of experiments made. The general field of such experimentation is specified in the act. Each state is required to accept the act formally and agree to carry out its purposes. Without giving the Federal Government any real control, the act specified that:

"The Secretary of Agriculture shall furnish forms, . . . for the tabulation of results of investigation, shall indicate from time to time such lines of inquiry as shall seem to him important, and in general shall furnish such advice and assistance as will best promote the purpose of the law." Each Experiment Station must publish a bulletin at least once in three months "which shall be sent by Government frank to each newspaper in the State and to such persons who are actually engaged in agriculture who shall request the same, as far as the means of the Station shall permit."

The Hatch Act was a needed supplement to the earlier legislation. From the outset, the colleges had been handicapped by the relative paucity of well-established scientific principles in the field of practical agriculture. As a result the instruction tended to be either remotely theoretical or entirely empirical and "rule-of-thumb" in character. The experimental stations, by accumulating an ever-increasing number of tested facts and principles, have given to the colleges the materials which they needed most to meet the clear intent of the first Morrill Act.

The law of August 30, 1890, the second Morrill Act, was designed "to more completely endow the colleges established under the law of July 2, 1862." It provided, out of the money arising from the sale of public lands, an annual subsidy of $15,000 "for the more complete endowment and maintenance" of each college of agriculture and mechanic arts. This subsidy was to increase by $1000 a year until it should reach $25,000 as the yearly grant. The amounts thus received "shall be applied only to instruction in agriculture, the mechanic arts, the English language, and the various branches of mathematical, physical, natural, and economic science, with special reference to their application in the industries of life and to the facilities for instruction." Reports were to be made and exchanged. The funds available could be divided in any state on the color line, but were to be used exclusively for operating expenses. The Secretary of the Interior was charged with the proper administration of the law, thus revealing a slight growth in the principle of Federal supervision over the institutions established by Federal bounty. How this matter was considered by Mr. Morrill is best told by stating that in the title of his bill of 1873 he specifically designates the schools formed under the act of 1862 as "National colleges for the advancement of general scientific and industrial education."

The Hatch Act and the second Morrill Act provided money arising from the sale of public lands. This fund would of necessity decrease as the public lands decreased, and the institutions might, in consequence, find themselves with a decreasing annual subsidy. Senator Morrill, with his usual foresight, did not overlook this danger. In March, 1898, he introduced a bill which provided that, whenever the proceeds of the sales of public lands should be less than is required by the act of 1890, the deficiency should be paid from any funds in the National Treasury which are not otherwise appropriated. The enactment of this bill into law established a clear and incontestable precedent for money grants in aid of education, the source of which would be current Federal taxes.[1]

In March, 1906, Congress passed the "Adams Act," an amendment of the Hatch Act. This was for the "more complete endowment and maintenance of agricultural experiment stations," and increased the appropriations by easy stages to $30,000 a year for each of the "land-grant" colleges that maintained an experiment station.

In March, 1907, the "Nelson Amendment" to the second Morrill Act of 1890 was passed. This amendment increased the cash appropriation for "endowment and support" from $25,000 annually, by increments of $5000 a year, to $50,000 annually.

Attention should also be called to the Smith-Lever

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[1] The best available materials on the subject of the Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts are:

1. U. S. Com. Edn. Report, Vol. 2, 1894–5, pp. 1189–1210.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 1896–7, pp. 1137–1264.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 1899–1900, pp. 1321–1335.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 1902, pp. 1–82.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 1903, pp. 39–222.

The last two references contain a compilation of the laws of Congress and of the states relative to Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, from 1862 to 1903.

6. I. L. Kandel: Federal Aid for Vocational Education. Bul. No. 10, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (New York, 1917).

Act of May, 1914, which made in 1915–16 an annual appropriation of $1,113,490 to the states for agricultural extension work, including the support of "Farmers' Institutes." The states added $1,364,356 for the same purposes. These latest appropriations would seem to complete in a fair way the Federal subventions for the work of the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. The Smith-Hughes Act[1] of February, 1917, provides for industrial and agricultural work, but with this later legislation, the Federal stimulus passed from the colleges to schools "of less than college grade."

The colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts, starting at the zero point on January 1, 1863, have had a most remarkable growth, notwithstanding the fact that they have been pioneers in a new type of education opposed in many ways to the ideals of existing institutions. The benefits of the act of 1862, or later benefits as a substitute, have been accepted by every state, and fifty-three institutions are to-day thus aided. These institutions enrolled, in 1915–16, a total of 130,499 students. Forty-eight states receive $50,000 each annually, — a total of $2,400,000. The insular possessions are also provided for. In addition, almost a million dollars comes each year from interest on the Land-Grant Fund of 1862, the principal being, in 1915–16, $15,105,925.00. The total property values of these fifty-three land-grant institutions in 1915–16 aggregated $179,519,438. In 1915–16, the income of these institutions from the bounty of the Federal Government was as follows:

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[1] See ch. x.

From land grant of 1862	$ 884,514.00
From other land grants	193,573.00
From acts of 1890 and 1907	2,500,000.00
For experiment stations	1,362,000.00
For extension work	1,113,490.00
Total	$6,053,577.00[1]

This chapter has been long; but it is difficult to tell, even in outline, the story of these institutions that in a brief half century have developed so remarkably, that have so fully justified the "Industrial Movement" out of which they sprang, and that constitute so fitting a tribute to the foresight and persistence of Justin S. Morrill. But perhaps the greatest lesson of the Morrill Acts lies in the steadily increasing appropriations that the states themselves have made to these nationally-aided colleges. *To-day, by far the greater part of the maintenance expenses of the "land-grant" colleges is met by taxation within the states themselves.* Federal aid, far from "pauperizing" the states, or tending toward a reduction of state initiative and effort, has served to stimulate the states to a measure of self-activity quite unparalleled in the development of nationally unaided state enterprises.[2]

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[1] For complete statistics, see U. S. Com. of Edn. Report, 1917, Vol. 2, pp. 371–405.

[2] For example, in the nineteen years following 1896, appropriations from the state treasuries to the land-grant colleges increased *eightfold;* during the same period state appropriations to the nationally unaided state normal schools increased only *threefold.*

This chapter completes the story of Federal land grants for educational purposes. The public domain is not yet exhausted, — on July 1, 1913, there were 1,820,538,240 acres of land as yet unappropriated.[1] Much of it, however, is mountainous, arid, or semi-arid. It will come into the market only as the pressure of population on the means of subsistence forces its settlement and cultivation. So far as a source of revenue for the support and encouragement of education is concerned, the unappropriated public land is of little account, save in Alaska.[2]

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[1] Quoted in Cubberley and Elliott's *State and County School Administration*, p. 108.

[2] A summary table setting forth the principal facts regarding Federal land grants for educational and other purposes will be found in Appendix A. This was issued by the General Land Office in August, 1919. It is corrective of facts previously quoted in tables, variations in which are inevitable, as the tables have been made up at different times.

CHAPTER IX

SPECIFIC NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ACTS

THE preceding chapters have considered land and money grants by which the Nation has promoted education within the states. In each case, the state has, so to speak, been the agent through which the Nation has influenced the schools. The Federal Government, however, has undertaken educational work independently of the states. Federal legislation of this type will be the theme of the present chapter.

A. THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

Up to the close of the Civil War, educational affairs in the South were, generally speaking, in a wretched condition. Of all the Southern states, North Carolina had made the most creditable record and had made a fair start toward developing a state system of public schools. Elsewhere, a few elementary schools and academies had been established, — but the elementary schools were largely for the poor and the academies for a wealthier group which demanded the classics and "accomplishments." In the larger cities, — Charleston, Mobile, New Orleans, — a little progress had been made in promoting common schools, but, on the whole, free public education in the South had been a failure. When the war closed, "taxable property had depreciated sixty per cent at a stroke, and four million illiterates (negroes) were added to the school population. The educational problem set for solution was how to educate three times the number of children with one third the money."[1]

There were no teachers, no schoolhouses; the private schools had been closed during the war because of financial difficulties. There was a deep-seated prejudice against public schools and especially against educating the negro. One Southern writer has said: "If the tree be judged by its fruits, it [the public school] is poisonous instead of salutary to republican institutions in our great cities."

In March, 1865, Congress created a "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands." So long a title was impossible; the organization soon came to be known as the "Freedmen's Bureau." There were many church organizations that bore the same title, some of which had been organized while the war was in progress. The Government Bureau worked with these various agencies and with whatever Southern associations, organizations, or institutions it could interest in its plans and policies. It helped to establish schools in existing buildings, found teachers and employed them, and did perhaps its greatest work in building what would be regarded to-day as very crude schoolhouses. It sought the coöperation of every conceivable organization in the North to furnish money for carrying on a work that was too extensive and too far-reaching for a Bureau with a limited budget to handle alone. Indeed, during the four years of its existence, the Freedmen's Bureau of the United States Government did a most helpful piece of work in the South. At the end of the first year of its history, it employed nearly a thousand teachers and enrolled one hundred thousand pupils in its schools. At the end of four years, the total stood: teachers, 2500; pupils, 250,000.

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[1] Boone's *Education in the United States*, p. 350.

The Freedmen's Bureau helped also in the founding of Howard University[1] and Wayland Seminary, at Washington; Fisk University and the State Central College, in Tennessee; Straight University, in Louisiana; Claflin University, in South Carolina; and Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, in Virginia. The last named became the type and pattern for negro industrial schools, and North and South alike are indebted to the educational sense and sanity which, under the wise leadership of General Armstrong, spread from Hampton as a center. The Peabody Fund for the South ($3,100,000), the Slater Fund ($1,000,000), and many other benefactions were hastened and directed into right channels by the trail blazed by the Freedmen's Bureau.

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[1] Howard University has continued to draw support from the Federal Treasury, the appropriation by Congress for 1915–1916 being $101,000.

The Bureau spent $5,250,000 in the four years of its existence, and all of it came from the treasury of the United States. By 1869, however, the Peabody Fund was operative, the work of the churches was well organized, and the South itself had begun to establish schools, spurred on, perhaps, by a conviction that, if it did not do so, the Federal Government would. In any case, the Bureau was discontinued and the work of building up a free public school system was begun in earnest by the reconstructed states.

B. THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION

Although the Nation, as such, has had no control over education in the several states, it has not been entirely remiss to the obligations that opportunity so clearly implies. The need for a central agency to collect and disseminate statistics and information regarding education in the different states began to be felt just as soon as the national consciousness sensed the fact that universal education was a condition precedent to the realization of its ideals. Such an agency was talked of in the later 'forties and early 'fifties, but the Civil War delayed its establishment. When the war was over, the need was accentuated by the almost universal ignorance about educational conditions in the South. How to meet this need was a problem that had a prominent place on the programs of the National Education Association in 1864, 1865, and 1866. At the meeting in 1867, a committee was appointed to memorialize Congress on the subject. Of this committee, State Commissioner Emerson E. White, of Ohio, was chairman. The memorial was presented to the House of Representatives by James A. Garfield.[1] The bill creating a Department of Education was approved March 2, 1867. The committee had asked for a Bureau, but the House made it a Department. The Department was established, as stated in the act, "for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories, and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems, and methods of teaching, as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country."

As a Department, this new agency of the government had a short life. The appropriation bill of July 20, 1868, declared that "the department of education shall cease" "from and after the thirtieth day of June, 1869." In its stead, the Bureau was created and attached to the Department of the Interior. The salary of the Commissioner was reduced to $3000 a year and the total appropriation cut from $9400 to $5400 a year.

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[1] Data relative to this matter, including the speech of James A. Garfield, are found in the U. S. Com. Edn. Report, 1901, pp. 414-38.

The infant was almost strangled while a-borning, and it is small wonder that it has always been puny.

The Bureau of Education has endeavored to do the best that it could with its available funds and opportunities. Generally speaking, it has had to depend entirely upon voluntary coöperation as regards educational statistics — and everything else. Its publications have been timely and helpful. The annual reports contain invaluable material not elsewhere available. But, after saying all that can truthfully be said of its work as a Bureau, it has failed to develop that leadership which education in a great democracy needs — perhaps beyond all other types of leadership. Prestige and influence in other types of governmental enterprise come naturally and inevitably; with our Federal plan, a national leadership in education has never come. The states long since learned this, and each of them now has, in the state government, an executive officer or department whose chief business, no matter what words the law may employ, is educational leadership. In a democratic state, the compelling power should be the ideals of the people. The function of leadership is to inspire ideals, — to make articulate and vocal the unformulated but deeply felt wishes and aspirations of the people, — to set up and exemplify those standards of worth which the people will recognize as their own and which they will, by collective action, make real.

We do not value very highly a position that is without prestige. A little Bureau in a big Department cannot have prestige. Without prestige, influence is lacking; and without influence, leadership is impossible. And this — plain, honest work within a narrow field, hampered and repressed by beggarly appropriations, and very little influence upon education — has been the history of the Bureau of Education. The total appropriations for educational purposes by the Federal Government for the year ending June 30, 1918, amounted to one hundred sixty million dollars; *of this total the Bureau of Education received $481,800, or less than one third of one per cent!* Or, if we take some other governmental agencies for comparison, we shall get a relative idea of the importance attached by Congress to the Bureau of Education. The Civil Service Commission receives almost as much money as the Bureau of Education. The Library of Congress receives one and a half times as much. There is appropriated by Congress for the janitors in the public schools of Washington alone, three fourths as much as the Bureau of Education is given. The Bureau of Plant Industry in the Department of Agriculture has seven times as much as the Bureau of Education, while the Bureau of Entomology has twice as much.

Furthermore, in order to get the proper ratio for revising the comparisons just made, we must bear in mind that over one half of all that is appropriated to the Bureau of Education ($267,000) is specifically appropriated for education in Alaska. The Bureau of Education has \$75,200 for salaries; the Civil Service Commission has \$340,000; the Bureau of Plant Industry has \$440,000; and West Point alone has \$983,602.

Control of education by the Federal Government is as undesirable as it is impossible; but if the Federal Government really wishes to *promote* education, its first step forward might well be to elevate the Bureau of Education to its appropriate status as an executive department of the Federal Government.

C. PURELY NATIONAL SCHOOLS

On its own private account, so to speak, the Federal Government has been in the educational business for a long time for it has had its own wards to look out for, and, in some cases, its own servants to train. Through a long series of blunders, the tragedies of which need not concern us here, it has developed fairly effective plans and policies for the education of the Indians. For the year ending June 30, 1918, the Office of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior was given \$9,565,800, to be spent under Federal control for the education of Indians.

Congress has also been under the necessity of educating, under its own management and direction, officers for the Army and the Navy. Washington urged a national school that would insure "an adequate stock of military knowledge," and his wishes were realized with the organization of the Military Academy at West Point in 1802. The institution was not very successful at first, but after the War of 1812 its curriculum was revised and an excellent system of discipline established. In one way, it remained "close to the people"; in order to be admitted, the candidate was required only to be "well versed in reading, writing, and arithmetic," and to be physically fit; but the selection was practically upon the basis of political patronage, for the candidates for examinations were appointed by members of Congress. The admission requirements have been advanced in recent years. Its purpose has always been "to train young men to arrange squadrons for the hardy fight"; and in spite of its aristocratic tendencies and traditions, its success as a school is unquestioned.

In 1913, Congress appropriated $1,246,159.97 for military training in its own institutions. These institutions, in addition to West Point, are: the Army War College and the Army Engineer School, in Washington; the Coast Artillery School, Fort Monroe; officers' schools, at various military posts; and the service schools at Forts Sill, Riley, and Leavenworth. Facilities for military training expanded greatly during the recent World War, and will doubtless decrease rapidly at first, then more slowly for a long period, eventually going back to the level which is considered safe from a national point of view. It is also quite probable that the military training required by the act of 1862 in the land-grant colleges will, for many years, be expanded and intensified.

The Department of the Navy was established in 1798. In harmony with the old English system, the ship's chaplain served as schoolmaster. About 1813, instructors were placed on ships. Soon afterward, instructors were assigned to the Navy Yards at New York, Philadelphia, and Norfolk. Chauvenet, the mathematician, was in charge of the instructors at Philadelphia. He conceived the idea of founding a school for naval training. It was not until 1845, however, that his idea was realized, through the efforts of George Bancroft, then Secretary of the Navy, by the establishment of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. This provided only for the training of officers. After the lapse of fifty years, Naval Training Stations for the enlisted personnel were established.

An idea of the cost of naval training in peace times may be obtained from the appropriations made in 1913. The Naval Academy received $586,150; the four Naval Training Stations — California, Rhode Island, Great Lakes, and Saint Helena — received $278,457; the Naval War College (Rhode Island) received $28,500, — a total of $893,457. For 1918, these appropriations were more than doubled and additional facilities were provided.

The United States Government, through the Department of State, provides for the training of student interpreters at our embassies in China, Japan, and Turkey. It also contributes liberally toward the support of the Smithsonian Institution and makes arrangements by which its vast collections and libraries are placed at the service of investigators. Congress, also, controls education in the District of Columbia, Alaska, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii.

CHAPTER X

FEDERAL GRANTS FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

THE Industrial Movement, already mentioned as becoming active in the early fifties and again after the Civil War, has been intensified and given a new direction by the developments of the past half century. The land-grant colleges, while they have done a superb work, never fully satisfied the ideals of the Industrial Movement, for their efforts were largely limited to the relatively small group of students competent to pursue studies of collegiate grade. The land-grant colleges and the experimental stations did something to bring to the practical farmer the results of modern scientific research in agriculture. In fact, it was, in part, the clear and unmistakable demonstration of practical values that led successive legislatures in the several states to make generous appropriations for the support of these schools. But while no one has ever criticized these colleges with any measure of justification, it is true that there have been many needs and longings which they have not satisfied.

The Centennial Exhibition in 1876, too, revealed the backwardness of the country in respect to vocational education on the elementary and secondary levels, and led to the establishment of courses in manual training in public schools, the organization of trade schools, and a new emphasis upon "practical" instruction. The great private correspondence schools have been nourished and supported by the longings of those who would be adherents of the Industrial Movement if only they knew that there were such a thing. The success of these enterprises and that of private benefactions such as Cooper Union, and the popularity of university extension work are proof conclusive of the fundamental aspiration of the worker to better his condition.

Contributing to the demand for "practical" education has been the vast expansion and differentiation of the industrial processes. These require of the workman a highly developed intelligence within a narrow field. For example: while anyone with the necessary physical strength can fill a blast furnace with kindling, coke, limestone, and pig iron, someone must know the proportions and sequence of these ingredients. This knowledge was originally gained by "trial and error" and formulated in empirical rules. Within the past half century, however, science, through careful experimentation, has worked out accurate formulae, and has furnished explanations as well as rules. From the making of soap and the baking of bread to the manufacture of steel girders, the industrial processes have been refined and perfected to the point where each is a distinct field of highly specialized skill and highly technical knowledge. A man may be a very successful soap maker without knowing enough about the blast furnace to make even a respectable failure at operating it.

With a sufficient number of high-grade men to direct the industries, the actual physical work might be done by men who know very little. One of the tendencies of modern industry, indeed, is to keep a maximum number of low-grade employes at work under a minimum of expert guidance. When the particular industry is "slack," the low-grade workmen have no employment and, consequently, no wage. The social consequences are disastrous. Even if industry could be continuously prosperous, its human employes would still have a human life to live, a human destiny to work out, and community, state, and national obligations to discharge. The problem can never, from any angle, be one of dividends merely or chiefly. The individual is more than a cog in the industrial machine; the Nation is more than a mere aggregate of producers, — basic as production is in social life.

Many boys and girls leave school at a very early age to enter upon all sorts of occupations. These boys and girls are not skilled workers; they are merely hands and feet to fetch and carry; — and, unless they are kept mentally alive by something outside their routine work, they may mature physically into manhood and womanhood only to assume the responsibilities of family and community life with the mental equipment and ideals of childhood or, at best, of early adolescence. They are the most tragic examples of "arrested development," for mental starvation during adolescence condemns them throughout life to a relatively low grade of skill. From the individual, economic, and social points of view it is imperative to keep these young people growing mentally.

A combination of statesmanship, philanthropy, and good "business sense" has fortunately resulted in the organization within the United States of a vast machinery for vocational education that aims to solve this problem. The embodiment of this plan is known as the Smith-Hughes Act, approved February, 1917. As a bill in Congress, this act was very carefully considered by the education committees of Congress and by a special commission expressly created to study it. It involves many new features, some of which are to prevent abuses that have attended other forms of Federal subsidies and some of which are theoretical ventures in the field of "grants in aid" of education. The main features of the Smith-Hughes Act are set forth below without comment:

1. The act creates a Federal Board for Vocational Education whose function it is "to make or cause to have made studies, investigations, and reports, with particular reference to their use in aiding the States in the establishment of vocational schools and classes and in giving instruction in agriculture, trades, and indus-

tries, commerce and commercial pursuits, and home economies"; "to coöperate with State Boards in carrying out the provisions of the Act"; and "to coöperate with the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and Commerce and the Bureau of Education in making studies and investigations." The Federal Board employs a Director, who is the Executive Officer of the Board, and, on his nomination, elects assistants for the direction of certain lines of work, such as agriculture, domestic science, industry, etc.

2. The Federal Board is given $200,000 annually to meet the cost of administering the Act.

3. Increasing funds are set aside for specific purposes which at their maxima are as follows:

a. For the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects, $1,000,000, allotted to the states on basis of population.
b. $3,000,000 for teaching agriculture in schools of less than college grade, and allotted to the states on the basis of rural population.
c. $3,000,000 for teaching trades and industries allotted to the states on the urban population basis.

4. These allotments are conditional upon the agreement of each coöperating state to match its Federal allotment dollar for dollar.

5. "The Federal Board for Vocational Education shall annually ascertain whether the States are using or are prepared to use the moneys received by them in accordance with the provisions of this Act."

6. The Federal Board is empowered to "withhold the allotment of moneys to any state whenever it shall appear that such moneys are not being expended for the purposes and under the conditions of this Act." The state, in such a case, may appeal to Congress, and upon the express direction of Congress the state may receive the allotment that has been temporarily withheld by the Federal Board.

7. The state must guarantee the Government against loss of funds allotted "by any action or contingency." The state must also agree to use moneys received under the provisions of the Act solely for operating expenses, — that is, for teaching, supervision, and administration.

8. The states must report annually to the Federal Board.

9. The Federal Board must approve the action of the State Board in setting up minimum qualifications of teachers in agriculture, trades and industries, and home economics.

The total maximum appropriation provided in the act is $7,200,000 annually.

The features of the act that set new precedents in Federal aid to education are:

A. The Federal Board, which is set up separately from any existing agency of the government and which is, consequently, directly responsible to Congress.

B. The allotment on the basis of apparent need.

C. The requirement that the states must spend, for a specific purpose, at least as much as the Federal Government allots to the state for that purpose.

D. The approval of a state's plans for vocational education by the Federal Board, and the making of this approval a condition of allotment.

E. The right given the Federal Board to ascertain annually just what has been done in a state and how the money has been spent.

These new features safeguard the interests of the Nation as a whole as has never been done before by any grant of land or money for educational purposes. Whether the plan is too highly centralized and whether the Federal Board will infringe upon the "autonomy of the States" are matters which the wise years will reveal.

CHAPTER XI

THE PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE EDUCATIONAL ACTS OF CONGRESS

BY way of summary, it will be profitable to state the principles embodied or implied in the educational acts of Congress that have been already considered.

(1) The right of the Federal Government to encourage the establishment of public schools, or common schools, by grants of land has been clearly established. The action of the Continental Congress in 1785 with respect to Lot No. 16 in the Northwest Territory is conclusive evidence of this right especially in view of the long record of subsequent acts of Congress in harmony with the declaration of the act of 1785 and in view of the fact that no action even remotely suggesting the invalidity of this Federal policy has ever been brought before the Supreme Court. Congress has given lands for the establishment and maintenance of common schools to colonization companies, such as the Ohio Company and the Symmes Company; to townships as in some of the earlier states, notably Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; and later to states. Not only has the Federal Government established the right to give lands for the maintenance of common schools, but it has given money in lieu of

land. This was done in Oklahoma when the state of Oklahoma was given $5,000,000 in lieu of the sixteenth section lands, the title to which was vested in the Indians. Congress has done the same with respect to North Dakota where a few years ago it voted $180,000 to the state in lieu of lands that were covered by individual Indian titles.

(2) The Federal Government has established its right to encourage the development of colleges and universities by land grants. This has been done repeatedly. The first form of grant was the traditional "two townships" which started with the grant to the Ohio Company and which was followed by a grant of one township to the Symmes Company. Later came salt lands, internal improvement lands, swamp lands, and finally, crowning all of them, lands for the endowment of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. The Federal Government also has established its right to give money as well as lands for the maintenance and endowment of colleges, — witness the Hatch Act of 1887, the second Morrill Act of 1890, the later Nelson Act, and the Adams Act increasing the second Morrill allowance to an annual maximum of $80,000 for each state. This is a continuing annual subsidy for the "further endowment and maintenance" of the land-grant colleges.

(3) Congress has established its right to enter into coöperative arrangements with the states for specific

educational purposes. This is clearly shown in the preceding acts, especially those relative to the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts and the experiment stations. It is also shown in the Smith-Hughes Act in which a very definite and specific contractual relation has been undertaken, — even to the point of making the state agree to match dollar for dollar its allotment for each specific purpose.

(4) The Federal Government has established its right to encourage all kinds of educational and welfare work. In addition to what has already been particularly described in the preceding chapters of this book, Congress has established in the Department of Agriculture the States' Relation Service, and in the Department of Labor the Children's Bureau. It has also organized in the Treasury Department a Public Health Service the functions of which are largely educational. Under the States' Relation Service school gardening has been organized on an elaborate scale and various other types of educational activities, small and large, are encouraged by the leadership of its employes, and often by the stimulus of expenditures on the part of the Government. It has also been spending, through the Department of the Interior, small sums of money for the Americanization of foreigners and it has been spending even more in giving publicity to this great educational need.

(5) Congress has established its right to set aside money for the preparation of teachers under conditions

satisfactory to itself. This is shown in the Smith-Hughes Act where $1,000,000 annually is appropriated for the training of teachers of vocational subjects, and also in the Adams Act which provides that a part of the money given to the land-grant colleges may be spent for the preparation of teachers. If it has the right to prepare teachers for certain limited fields of teaching, it has the right to prepare teachers for general fields of teaching.

(6) Congress has established its right to spend money for the collection and dissemination of information regarding education at home and abroad. This is shown through the activities and publications of the Bureau of Education. The different educational proposals that the Bureau is able to put before the general educational public by use of funds provided by Congress clearly show that Congress has established the right to spend money for educational publicity. Closely associated with this is the evident right of Congress to appropriate money for the carrying on of research work as is done so extensively through the agricultural experiment stations, the various research bureaus of the Department of Agriculture, the Smithsonian Institution, the Museum of Natural History, the Library of Congress, and the National Research Council. The Federal Government is to-day the largest single employer of research scientists in the world.

(7) Congress has exercised its unquestioned right to

set up schools for the attainment of its own specific educational ends. West Point, Annapolis, the War College, the Naval College, the Service Stations, schools at Army posts, and Naval training stations, all clearly prove this. It already has a special school for training medical officers for the Army; it could set up schools for the training of its consular personnel if it so desired, for the training of attachés in its diplomatic service, for the training of teachers to serve in its own schools. There is practically no limit to such educational activities; the field is as wide as the Government service itself.

(8) Congress has established and exercised its right to provide for the education of Indians and for the education of people in its territories and outlying possessions. It is now spending something over $9,000,000 annually on the education of Indians. It is spending money for public schools in the Territory of Alaska, and it has previously spent money for the education of people in practically every territory that has been established. It also established and exercised its authority to provide for the education of negroes immediately following the Civil War as shown by the work of the Freedmen's Bureau.

These precedents, *undisturbed by a single adverse court decision*, prove that it is constitutional for the Federal Government to promote education in a variety of ways. It has been promoting education ever since

1785. Not a session of Congress closes without the passage of acts designed to promote education. To be sure, these acts are for the most part in harmony with precedents already established, but new precedents are constantly being set. On the other hand, for Congress to attempt to usurp the sovereign right of each state to organize, supervise, and administer education within its own borders and specifically and directly for the state's own citizens would clearly be unconstitutional. It is, indeed, unthinkable. Congress has never attempted to do this. It has never been advised or memorialized by educational leaders to attempt it. No one desires this sort of thing to be done; but there are many who feel that the coöperative relationships already established, already justified by their results, should be extended to include educational needs and activities even more important to the welfare of the Nation than those with which the Government has hitherto concerned itself. If Federal coöperation in education can work the miracles which now stand to its credit, and if it can do this without invading in any respect the rights of the states, it can work other sadly needed miracles with the same efficiency and the same freedom from danger.

CHAPTER XII

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION AND FEDERAL AID

THE annual meeting of the National Education Association in 1873 was held at Elmira, New York. The main topic of interest was Federal aid to education. Dr. McCosh, then president of Princeton, gave a long address on "Upper Schools" in the course of which he clearly revealed the attitude of the older, endowed colleges toward the new land-grant colleges. He said, in part:

> "What should be done with those ninety millions worth of unappropriated land belonging to the general government? We all know that a proposal was made in the last session of Congress to devote the whole or the half of the sum to be realized by the sale of those lands to what were called agricultural schools. The agricultural schools and schools of science which expected to receive a share of the funds were employed for months in preparing and promoting this measure. Members of the Senate and of the House were anxious to be able to go back to their constituents with the assurance that they brought down with them to their state half a million of money or $50,000 a year. Friends of education were glad to get the sum allocated to some good educational end, were it only to prevent it from being wasted in

> political jobbing. But some of us, when we learned that such a measure was quietly passing the House and Senate, courageously set ourselves against the allocation of so large a sum of money to so narrow and so sectional a purpose. We argued that so far as these schools were simply agricultural ones, they were not accomplishing so great a good as to entitle them to so large an endowment. I hold very resolutely that, before so large a sum be lavished on them, there should be a special inquiry into what they are and what they are doing; into the number of *bona fide* agricultural pupils, and specially as to the number of those trained who have thought it worth their while to turn to farming. I could show that in no country in the world has agriculture been much benefited by mere agricultural schools.
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> "Why should the excellent college at New Brunswick [Rutger's College] and managed by a few Dutchmen, get $50,000 a year, and Princeton College, with its new school of Science, receive nothing? We wish nothing in Princeton from the state or general government. I proclaim this publicly. But we are entitled in this country to a fair field and no favor."[1]

After quoting at length from John Stuart Mill, Dr. McCosh finally proposed that the proceeds of the sale of public lands should be made into a permanent fund, and that the interest be used to encourage high schools. In the Southern states, his plan would permit the use of one half of the state's share for common schools.

The address of Dr. McCosh was given in the evening and the discussion continued the next day. President Eliot, of Harvard College, carried the argument still further, attacking the whole policy of Federal aid for education. He said:

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[1] N. E. A. Proceedings, 1873, pp. 32–33.

> "Dr. McCosh proposed that ninety million dollars public money be applied for upper schools in the North and for upper and elementary schools in the South. Ninety millions would be only a drop in the bucket. . . . The one drop is a drop of poison. It demoralizes us and weakens the foundation of our liberty. It interferes with the carrying out of our destiny, — the breeding of a race of independent and self-reliant freemen. I hope no words will go out from this Association which can be held to sanction, in any way or shape, a request for money from the government for education. I know of no more mischievous, insidious enemy to a free republic than this habit of asking help in good works which we ought to attend to ourselves."

President Eliot also had a word to say regarding the Congressional situation:

> "It was to me, I know it must have been to many others, a humiliating spectacle to see, last winter, in the halls of Congress, a half-dozen men, representing a few institutions of education, many of them but half-born, vieing for a share in the public gifts. I was thankful to President McCosh when he ventured to go before Congress and protest against this demoralizing use of public money. I only regret that it was left to a gentleman not American to discharge that public duty."[1]

Mr. G. W. Atherton, one of the "few Dutchmen at New Brunswick," and later president of the Pennsylvania State College of Agriculture, spoke the next evening on "The Relation of the General Government to Education." After covering the historical ground he presented and elaborated five propositions, as follows:

1. The proceeds of the sales of public lands yet remaining unappropriated should be permanently in-

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[1] N. E. A. Proceedings, 1873, p. 44.

vested by the United States Government, as they accrue, and set apart as a perpetual endowment for the support of public education; the income to be distributed among the states, and administered by them according to their several systems.

2. All grants of land to corporations should cease. "From 1850 to 1873, Congress has given the Pacific roads alone over 150,000,000 acres, — more than all it has ever granted to all educational agencies."

3. A portion of the fund thus set apart for education should be devoted to the further endowment of the national scientific schools, commonly called agricultural colleges. These institutions are the logical and fit completion of the public school system. They are the colleges of and for the people.

4. The Government must hold the states to an account for the right use of its donations.

5. To sum up all in a word, the United States Government must take a more direct and active interest than it has hitherto done in the promotion of public education.[1]

After all this discussion, and much more that was not recorded, the Association

> "*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Association, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands should be, hereafter, set apart by Congress, under such conditions as it may deem wise, as a perpetual fund for the support of public education in the states and territories."[2]

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[1] N. E. A. Proceedings, 1873, pp. 70–73.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

It is interesting in this connection to note that President Eliot at this meeting gave a strong report against a National University, — a project which the Association had indorsed in 1869 and concerning which two bills had been introduced in Congress in 1872, one by Senator Howe, of Wisconsin, on March 25, the other by Senator Sawyer, on May 20. He said:

> "During the war of the Rebellion, we got accustomed to seeing the government spend vast sums of money and put forth vast efforts, and we asked ourselves, Why should not some of these great resources and powers be applied to works of peace, to creation as well as to destruction? So we subsidized railroads and steamship companies, and agricultural colleges, and now it is proposed to subsidize a university. The fatal objection to this subsidizing process is that it saps the foundations of public liberty. The only adequate securities of public liberty are the national habits, traditions, and character acquired and accumulated in the practice of liberty and self-control."[1]

These quotations give us a keen insight into the educational attitude of different groups. One group wished to use the public money for the removal of illiteracy and the development of the public schools. Another wished to use it for the development and possible endowment of upper schools that would prepare for college. A third group wished to use all of the fund for "the further endowment and maintenance of the Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts." President Eliot and his followers protested against any use of

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[1] N. E. A. Proceedings, 1873, p. 119.

Federal money for education. These four groups, in Congress and outside, had long and, at times, acrimonious discussions.

In 1875, the House Committee on Education and Labor gave the land-grant colleges a "clean bill of health" so that Dr. McCosh had still further cause for dissent. In 1877, Senator Morrill succeeded Senator Sherman as Chairman of the Finance Committee. Senator Blair of New Hampshire became the Chairman of the Committee on Education. Senator Blair was earnestly and persistently interested in the cause of the common schools and sought to have legislation aiding them passed. All of his efforts failed, but they came sufficiently near to success to keep the idea alive.

The National Education Association reiterated its Elmira resolution in 1874 and in 1875. At the latter meeting a committee was appointed to place the resolution in the hands of each member of Congress. In 1876, the idea was expanded to include "common schools, normal education, and the technical and industrial colleges" established under the act of 1862. A committee of one from each state and territory was provided "to prepare a memorial to Congress embodying the views herein expressed, and urging such legislation as shall be substantially in harmony therewith."[1] In 1877, the same idea is reiterated. In 1879, the Committee on Publication was "instructed to place a copy in pamphlet form of so much of Dr. John D. Philbrick's paper as refers to the Bureau of Education on the desk of each Senator and Representative." The Association expressed its "gratification at the recommendations in favor of education made by the President of the United States in his several messages." This meeting also declared in favor of the creation of colleges for women in each state, — following what seemed to be the very successful plan upon which the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts had been established. The Association specifically indorsed House Bill No. 2059 entitled, "A bill donating lands to the several states and territories which may provide colleges for the education of females." This bill had been introduced by Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, and a resolution looking to the formation of a similar bill had been introduced in the Senate by John T. Morgan, of Alabama.

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[1] N. E. A. Proceedings, 1876, p. 58. They also desired an expanded and better supported Bureau of Education.

In 1881, the Association had settled in its own composite mind that the *fund*, already many times mentioned, should be distributed for the first ten years on the basis of illiteracy and thereafter on the basis of congressional representation.[1] It still insisted that Congress should set aside a part of the income for normal schools, and another part for the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. A committee was directed to present the matter to Congress. It is a great misfortune that these various committees of the Association did not report. The meeting of 1882 also "resolved" on the subject, — and ordered its resolution sent to members of Congress. The Department of Superintendence had held its meeting in March of 1882 in Washington and a most earnest and able presentation of the need for Federal aid was made by A. D. Mayo, Dexter A. Hawkins, and J. L. M. Curry, the agent of the Peabody Fund. One sentence deserves a place in every discussion of this subject. Dr. Curry said:

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[1] N. E. A. Proceedings, 1881, p. 159.

> "I am only stating a truism when I say that there is not a single instance in all educational history where there has been anything approximating universal education unless that education has been furnished by the government."[1]

In 1884, at Madison, Wisconsin, the Association favored Federal aid to education in the South. In 1885, the resolution became elaborate and declared Federal aid necessary "to the end that every child in the country of school age may receive a good common-school education under the respective systems of the several states." In 1886, A. E. Winship, of Boston, offered a plan for holding an interstate educational convention to be called by the governors of the several states "to consider the various interests involved in the question of Federal aid to education." A *whereas* in this resolution admits that "the friends of education in Congress honestly differ in their estimate of the wisdom of making the appropriation provided for by the various bills now before that body."

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[1] N. E. A. Proceedings, 1882. Dept. of Supt., pp. 44–60; especially, for the quotation, p. 56.

In 1887, Senator Blair appeared before the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association and talked freely about the bill he had favored in Congress. This bill appropriated $77,000,000 to be distributed to the states, on the basis of illiteracy, through a series of years. It began at seven millions, and provided in successive years for ten, fifteen, thirteen, eleven, nine, seven, and five millions. It may be noted in passing that the distribution of the interest on the public land sales had been found to be too small to accomplish any substantial result; consequently all advocates of Federal aid had turned to a lump sum to be so distributed as to accomplish a definite and worthy result. The Blair Bill passed the Senate at three different sessions of Congress, — 1883-5; 1885-7; 1887-9. It never succeeded in passing the House, although Senator Blair has stated that it had the support of more than two thirds of the members. There was a tangle of some sort, — either personal or political or strategic, — that prevented it from coming to a vote.[1]

The N. E. A. repeated its indorsement of the idea in 1887, 1888, and 1889. In 1890, however, it realized that the Hatch Act and the second Morrill Act constituted a first mortgage on the net proceeds of the sale of public lands, and gracefully resolved:

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[1] See Cubberley and Elliott's *State and County School Administration*, pp. 104-107, for Senator Blair's statement. It is also found in U. S. Bureau of Education *Circular of Information*, No. 3, 1887.

> "That this Association, recognizing the value of the educational work performed by the land-grant colleges, heartily indorses the movement in Congress for further aid of these institutions."[1]

The Association remained silent on Federal aid until 1906, when it indorsed the Burkett-Pollard Bill which was designed to provide Federal aid to normal schools to prepare teachers of agriculture and manual training for the public schools. A subsidy similar to that of the Hatch Act was contemplated. It may be remarked, parenthetically, that the vocational education movement finally inherited the Congressional interest which the normal schools had awakened in agriculture and manual training. In 1911, the Department of Superintendence said in its resolutions: "The question of the extension of the amount and character of Federal aid given to education is assuming great importance and demands the earnest consideration of all interested in education." In 1912, the Association indorsed "the comprehensive plan now before Congress for increasing the facilities in state colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts, state normal schools, and elementary schools for training in agriculture, domestic economy, and other industrial work for the great mass of our people, through the public schools of our entire country." This meant support for the predecessor of the Smith-Hughes Bill then pending. In 1916, the Association came out squarely and explicitly for the Smith-Hughes Bill.

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[1] N. E. A. Proceedings, 1890, Resolutions.

This brief account of the proceedings of the National Education Association clearly indicates that the men and women in the public-school service have consistently advocated Federal aid for education, — always with such provisos as would safeguard the rights of the states to organize, supervise, and administer their own schools. It also shows that a stiff undercurrent of opposition has emanated from educational leaders representing the endowed colleges.

This opposition still persists, although it is less in evidence in the councils of the Association than in former years, — largely because the Association itself has become more faithfully representative of the interests of public education as contrasted with private and endowed education.

Another ideal that has already been mentioned frequently recurs in the papers and resolutions of the Association, — the idea of a national university. In 1901, this idea was indorsed. At the same time a report on the subject was presented to the National Council on Education by a committee that had given long and patient study to the subject. President Harper, of the University of Chicago, was chairman of the committee.[1] In 1908, a report was made for the Committee by President Charles Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, House Bill No. 19,465 was discussed, the principles of the bill approved, and the committee continued.[1] In 1912, this committee was enlarged and discussed the matter at length. In 1915, the Department of Superintendence resolved: "We again reaffirm our declaration in favor of a National University and note with pleasure that the Fess Bill establishing such a University has been favorably reported to the House of Representatives."[2]

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[1] N. E. A. Proceedings, 1901, pp. 457–474.

The N. E. A. has always urged the cause of the Bureau of Education because of the benefits which have come to public schools and to teachers through its reports and bulletins. It has, almost without ceasing, asked Congress to give the Bureau better quarters, more equipment, and more money. It went further. In 1895, the Department of Superintendence said in its resolutions: "The importance of public education in this country demands its [the Bureau's] recognition as a distinct and coördinate department of the executive branch of government."[3] This has been substantially reaffirmed in 1897, in 1900, in 1903, in 1908, in 1910, and in 1917, with some commendatory resolutions about the Bureau and a plan for its more generous support at every intervening meeting.

Many other national legislative measures of minor importance have been advanced for consideration and have evoked some enthusiasm, but those that have lived through the past half century as the hope of educational leaders are:

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[1] N. E. A. Proceedings, 1908, p. 34.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 250.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 217.

1. Federal aid as a means of stimulating the states to an extension and improvement of all forms of public education. This has been accomplished with respect to the Industrial Movement by the acts that have given endowment and maintenance to the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts, and by the Smith-Hughes Act for vocational education "of less than college grade." There still remain the important fields of illiteracy, Americanization, the equalization of educational opportunities involving particularly the improvement of the rural schools, physical and health education, and — last but by no means least — the preparation of teachers. These are covered by the bill prepared in 1918 and 1919 by the Emergency Commission of the Association, and known in the Sixty-sixth Congress as the Smith-Towner Bill.

2. The expansion of the functions of the Bureau of Education into a real department of the government, after the pattern set by the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and Commerce, and the recognition of the importance of education by giving it a voice in the councils of the Nation.

3. The establishment of a National University which should be devoted to national service through the training which it would give in research in fields that are distinctly national in scope and significance.

CHAPTER XIII

WHAT THE WAR REVEALED

OUR analysis of historical material has prepared us to see just what things in the way of educational defects would come to the surface when the Nation engaged in a great war. Notwithstanding our Federal form of government, when it comes to the matter of war we are as homogeneous as any nation in the world, for Congress has the right to make war and it therefore has the right to conscript men, to conscript labor, and to conscript wealth to carry on war.

Whenever a nation thus strips for conflict and begins to organize all of its resources and all of its powers for the supreme test which war affords, the defects in its educational policies and practices are clearly revealed. We are all aware of the defects which England found in her educational system. She had been slow to adopt a thoroughgoing system of general public education. In fact, she had never approached it until 1870, and while she has made rapid strides since that time, her schools are still far behind those of many other European nations. In the midst of a most distressing conflict, England found it necessary to reorganize and amplify and expand, in a most remarkable way, her educational system.

In our own country, the educational situation, while better in many ways than that in England, was still far from satisfactory. One thing clearly revealed by the war was the high per cent of illiteracy among those summoned by the first draft. Seven hundred thousand illiterates were subject to this first call; two hundred thousand of them were drawn into the training camps. These men could not make good soldiers because in a modern army the soldier must be able to read orders, he must be able to read signs of direction, he must be able to read the printed page in order to get into the spirit and animus of the great organization of which he is a part. Because the illiterate recruits actually delayed the military preparation, the Nation for the first time appreciated the real meaning of illiteracy. No one will now deny that illiteracy is incompatible with our democracy. The long years of patient and persistent effort for the removal of illiteracy through the stimulus of national aid seemed to have been in vain, but now the facts, which every person engaged in education knew all the time, have been brought forcibly to the attention of the general public. No nation can safely permit one in thirteen of its adult population to be unable to read the printed page.

The war also brought into high relief the imperative need of "Americanizing" the immigrant population.

The unprecedented industrial development of the past quarter century was far from an unmixed blessing, and among the problems to which it has given rise none is more serious than that which the assimilation of the alien workers involves. These foreigners have been drawn to our shores by the economic opportunity which the country has afforded. They have been admitted and permitted to remain in accordance with laws passed by Congress. They have been permitted to seek employment wherever they could find it and to move freely from one state to another.

Not only this, but a very large proportion of those who have come to us in recent years are from European countries in which educational opportunities have been very meagre. They have been illiterates in their native lands; unlike the earlier immigrants from Northern Europe, their traditions regarding education are alien to ours. They have come to live among a people whose ideals are strange and unappreciated. Consequently they have flocked in groups because this was the only way in which they could have communication with human kind. They have not resisted Americanization; they have had no chance for it. The employer has felt that his responsibility was discharged when he paid them for their work. It was not conceived to be the business of capital to see that these people learned to read, speak, and write the English language, — although there are conspicuous examples of corporations that have voluntarily assumed this responsibility.

In a similar way, the states in which these masses of un-Americanized foreigners and non-English-speaking aliens congregated have felt that, in as much as the newcomers might not stay and in as much as many of them were beyond the legal school age, the state as such could do nothing for their Americanization. In fact, we have suddenly become aware that, while we have been setting up rules and regulations in accordance with which aliens might freely enter the country, we have made no effort to have them identify themselves with our national life. The American people as a whole are responsible for the existence of these unassimilated groups — these "alien islands" — that constitute not only a menace to the communities in which they exist, not only to the states to which the immigrants flock in large numbers because of industrial demands, but far more significantly to the Nation as a whole and to the ideals that the Nation represents.

The war has also awakened the country to the fact that the institutions of education are without adequate means of support. In every period of war, prices advance and the wages in certain types of occupations advance with them. But the rate at which this readjustment takes place is extremely variable — and far from equitable. Long before a new equilibrium has been struck, large groups of individuals suffer. In the war just ended, in the weak, struggling school districts, remote from the centers of wealth, the economic readjustments did not affect for a long time the real-estate values which determine the amount of tax-receipts. In spite, then, of the increased cost of all commodities, these districts had no more money with which to support schools than they had in peace times. More than this, our poorest schools are where the best schools ought to be; that is, they are in the communities that have the least in the way of wealth, culture, outlook, and opportunity in life. The child in the remote mountain ravine is a national asset just as truly as is the child on the broad fertile prairies of Illinois or Iowa. The child in the little miserable mining town is just as truly a national asset as is the child born on Fifth Avenue in New York. Our public-school system began with the theory that each community should support its own school. We have already seen how lamentably, even in colonial times, this theory broke down. After a fashion it answered the needs of pioneer days, but it failed when the pioneer stage had passed, and practically every state in the Union has found it necessary to establish a system of state-wide taxation and distribution. It is now clearly established that the adequate support of schools should be a charge upon the revenues of the state as a whole. Moneys contributed in proportion to wealth must be distributed back to the districts of the state in proportion to educational needs.

This movement toward equalization has not as yet been carried so far as it should go — so far as it must go, if the needs of the Nation are to be met. Nothing less than a reasonably good teacher and a reasonably good school for every child in America can either satisfy our underlying sense of justice or afford the measure of educational opportunity that is basal to our democracy. It is clear, then, that some stimulus to the states to proceed further in the "equalization of educational opportunities" is most decidedly needed. It cannot be left wholly to the community to say what kind of school it will have. The state has a stake in the schools of every community, and the Nation has an interest in the schools of every state.

The war also made us keenly conscious that the level of physical health and stamina among our people was far below what it should have been and what it might have been. Between twenty-five and thirty per cent of all of those within the first draft were found to be physically unfit for military service, and most of the defects were of such a character that they could have been remedied had they been properly attended to in the early years of life. There is, too, a serious reduction of efficiency from forms of illness that are easily avoidable. In Alabama, for example, a recent health survey "revealed the fact that an average of approximately one fourth of all the people are sick all the time."[1] This is computed to involve an annual loss in earning power of $250,000,000. There is nothing that will meet the situation except the establishment of large, far-reaching programs of physical and health education. During the past one hundred years medical science has succeeded with meagre coöperation from the public in increasing appreciably the average life-span. This achievement could be vastly extended by a wide dissemination of health knowledge among the masses of the people, — instructing both children in school and adults out of school. This program is not only justified and demanded on economic grounds; individual happiness, social welfare, and national advancement are inevitably bound up with it.

Then, too, the war revealed the weakness of a policy that makes public-school teaching a casual and temporary occupation, — a mere means of earning a living until a girl is ready for matrimony or until a boy has accumulated a little money to start in business or prepare for a profession that offers a real "career." At the outset of the war the great majority of the young men in teaching positions went into the service, while thousands of women teachers took the places of other young men in industrial and commercial employment. The schoolrooms were, in many sections, practically deserted. In addition to the patriotic motives which caused heavy inroads upon the teaching population, there was a powerful economic motive. The average annual wage of all teachers in the United States for 1915–16, the year just preceding our entrance into the World War, was $563.08. The advent of the war did not bring significant advances; with the war in full swing, wages twice as high were easily obtainable in other occupations. The public gradually awoke to the situation — but it was then too late.

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[1] See a summary of the Alabama Educational Survey in *School Life* (the official organ of the U. S. Bureau of Education), July 1, 1919.

The younger, less well-trained, and less mature teachers were commonly employed in the school districts with the lowest economic ability; hence the war affected these the most seriously. Nor did relief come with the advent of peace. Young people had learned that much higher financial rewards could be found elsewhere, and the schools were still more generally deserted.

On the positive side, however, the war emphasized, in a fresh and vigorous fashion, the vital importance of the teacher to the Nation's life. Every Governmental agency that aimed to deal directly with the people quickly discovered that the public schools formed a convenient and effective agency both of patriotic publicity and of actual patriotic service. In every city, town, and hamlet, and in the district schools of the open country, the teachers soon found themselves literally overwhelmed with national responsibilities. These they assumed with earnestness and patriotic devotion. They organized their pupils to sell Liberty bonds; through their efforts very largely the Thrift-stamp and War-savings campaigns met with gratifying success; they formed Junior Red Cross chapters which made millions of bandages and surgical dressings; they directed their pupils in the collection of money and clothing for overseas relief; they supervised the "War-gardens"; they were so active in having their pupils gather peach-pits and nutshells for the Chemical Warfare Service that it was necessary to send a special message from Washington stopping the shipments; at every possible point, in season and out of season, they worked under official Government direction to stimulate and conserve that most important asset of a nation-in-arms, — "civilian morale."

This devotion did not pass unnoticed. President Wilson, in September, 1918, addressed the following message "To School Teachers of the United States":

> "It is quite unnecessary, I am sure, for me to urge a continuance of the service you and your pupils have rendered to the Nation and to the great cause for which America is at war. Whatever the Nation's call has been, the response of the schools has been immediate and enthusiastic. The Nation and the Government agencies know and appreciate your loyalty and are grateful for your unfailing support in every war service."[1]

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[1] Published in *National School Service* (official Government bulletin, issued during the latter part of the war by the Committee on Public Information, and distributed to all public school teachers), September 1, 1918.

The heavy responsibilities for national service thus placed upon an already depleted and overworked teaching personnel, together with the educational inadequacies and shortcomings revealed by the draft, led the National Education Association early in 1918 to appoint a Commission[1] to devise ways and means of meeting the emergency. The confusion and congestion caused by the "war work" in the schools received first attention. The Commission had no official status, but the Government agencies welcomed its coöperation as representing the public-school workers of the Nation. Through its efforts a "clearing house" was established at Washington; the activities of a score of departments, bureaus, and committees, all attempting to work through the schools, were coördinated, overlappings were eliminated, rival claims reconciled, and the entire range of "war activities" so reorganized that they not only served their immediate purposes much better than before, but also fulfilled an educational function. Once this was accomplished, the Commission devoted its energies to the preparation of a program through which the outstanding defects of public education as revealed by the war might ultimately be remedied. The program which resulted was embodied later in the Smith-Towner

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[1] Called at first the "N. E. A. Commission on the Emergency in Education and the Program for Readjustment during and after the War"; now generally known as the "Emergency Commission of the N. E. A."

Bill, a measure which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.[1]

If the war revealed elements of weakness in the Nation's life which were due at basis to weaknesses in the educational system, it is none the less true that sources of strength were revealed which could in like manner be traced to the schools. Illiteracy, limited literacy, physical deficiencies, alienism — these are certainly evils which education should have corrected; but the other side of the ledger is not without its credits. The régime of the public school was not an unimportant factor in making possible the *morale* essential to the successful conduct of the war; if the schools had failed to Americanize the adult immigrant, they had at least done passing well with the immigrant's children — even of stock that came originally from enemy countries, the Americanism of the second and third generations, with very few individual exceptions, rang sound and true; and the studies of the schools, open to criticism though they doubtless are, have given to the great bulk of our population the important elements of common knowledge, common standards, and common aspirations, that enabled them to think together, feel together, and act together when the crucial test came.

Another factor on the positive side of the record certainly deserves recognition. The country entered the war relatively "unprepared"; yet the celerity and the completeness with which the program of preparation was put through served in some measure to mitigate the evils and reduce the perils that unpreparedness clearly involved. At the door of whatever persons, parties, policies, ideals, or traditions our unpreparedness may be laid, the quickness with which the Nation donned its armor must be attributed in large measure to the educational system. It is true that one half of the recruits in the National Army had had not more than six years of schooling; but, even so, this record left us no worse off than our associates in the war; while, of the other half, the proportion that had reached the advanced work of the high school and the college was far larger than in any other country. Men of the educational attainments necessary in the commissioned personnel were at hand in such numbers that a careful selection could be made. The supply of potential leadership was abundant.

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[1] See also Appendix C.

It was at this point that the American high school especially justified its existence. It is well to remember the illiterates, the limited literates, the physical defectives, and the un-Americanized immigrants; we should keep them in mind at least until educational conditions have been improved to the point where the handicaps that they represent shall have disappeared; but it would be most unfortunate to be blind to the real achievements of our educational system, and among these the record of the high schools is the one in which we may glory the most. The American high school is our single indigenous educational institution. Its growth during the past thirty years had been so remarkable — a tenfold increase in enrollment during a period in which the general population has increased only twofold — that in 1913–14 we had in these schools almost as many pupils as were enrolled in schools of similar grade in all other countries combined. We had, in other words, approximated universal secondary education far more closely than had any other nation; we had carried to a relatively high instructional level a larger proportion of our boys and girls; and we had in consequence a more extensive basis of trained and informed intelligence among the young men who were called to the colors. Because of their attainments, these young men could adapt themselves quickly to the military situation, — and they were sufficiently numerous to "leaven the lump." In 1914, Bethmann-Hollweg, in setting forth the factors that in his judgment comprised the strength of Germany, concluded with the statement that the German continuation schools[1] had been steadily at work for a decade. In 1917, an American, in making a similar inventory of the factors determining the strength of his Nation, might well have set in a position of the first rank the fact that the American high school had been steadily at work for three decades.

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[1] The "continuation" school in pre-war Germany was an institution designed to supplement the education of the masses by providing part-time instruction after boys and girls had left the elementary school and entered productive employment. Like all other phases of mass education in Germany, it aimed to develop a narrow but efficient proletariat, — a body of skilled workers who would be cheerfully subservient to the will of the ruling classes.

CHAPTER XIV

CURRENT PROPOSALS IN CONGRESS

SUCH interest in proposed educational legislation as was outlined in Chapter XII and the educational shortcomings that were briefly described in Chapter XIII, are naturally paralleled by proposals in Congress.

The long-continued interest of the National Education Association in expanding the Bureau of Education has frequently found expression in projected legislation. For several years past, Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, has fathered a measure looking to this end. In the Sixty-sixth Congress, the Owen Educational Bill is known as S 819. It is a very brief bill creating an executive department of government to be known as the Department of Education. A Secretary of Education is provided for, and the Bureau of Education, now in the Department of the Interior, is transferred to the new department. Beyond this, the bill merely provides:

> "that it shall be the province and duty of said Department of Education to collect, classify, and disseminate information and advice on all phases of education and through coöperation with State, county, district, and municipal education officers to promote, foster, and develop advancement and improvement in the public school system throughout the United States."

This bill might, with propriety, have been introduced at any time within the past twenty-five years. This is another way of saying that it does not adequately meet the situation which the war has revealed. Just what it omits will be shown later in the consideration of other bills.

The military draft, as we have seen, drew public attention to the high per cent of illiteracy both in the native-born population and in a large section of the immigrant population. In the latter, too, the need of more adequate measures for Americanization was clearly revealed. Under the present organization of the Federal Government, both illiteracy and alienism come properly within the purview of the Department of the Interior. Out of the Department of the Interior, as might be expected, there has come a program for the reduction of illiteracy and for the Americanization of foreigners. This program is embodied in the "Lane Bill," introduced at the instance of Secretary Franklin K. Lane by Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia (as S 17) and Representative William B. Bankhead, of Alabama, (H. R. 1204).

The purpose of the bill, as expressed in its title, is:

"To promote the education of native illiterates, of persons unable to understand and use the English language, and of other resident persons of foreign birth; to provide for coöperation with the States in the education of such persons in the English language, the fundamental principles of government and citizenship, the elements of knowledge pertaining to self-support and home making,

> and in such other work as will assist in preparing such illiterate and foreign-born persons for successful living and intelligent American citizenship."

The plan of the bill is as follows:

(1) The Department of the Interior, through the Bureau of Education, is authorized and directed to coöperate with the several states in the education of illiterates and foreign-born persons, and also in the preparation of teachers for this work.

(2) An initial appropriation of $5,000,000 is provided for the first year for the actual instruction of illiterates and immigrants. Annually thereafter, until June 30, 1926, the appropriation is to be $12,500,000.

(3) For the preparation of teachers, the first appropriation is $250,000; annually thereafter, the appropriation is $750,000.

(4) A state must accept the provisions of the act, appoint an official as custodian of the funds, authorize its chief school officer to coöperate with the United States in the work in question, and appropriate for the same purposes an amount equal to its Federal allotment. Both the Federal allotment and the duplicate fund appropriated by the state are to be expended only for instruction, supervision, and administration. The Federal allotment is further subject to the proviso:

> "That no state shall be entitled to participate in the benefits of this act until it shall, by appropriate legislation, require the instruction for not less than two hundred hours per annum of

> all illiterate minors or minors unable to speak, read, or write the English language, more than sixteen years of age, at schools or places or by other methods of elementary instruction, until such minors have completed a course in English generally equivalent to that supplied by third-grade schools."

The plan is to put all illiterates and non-English speaking persons between sixteen and twenty-one into school for at least two hundred hours a year. This program could be worked out in various ways, — five hours a week for forty weeks, ten hours a week for twenty weeks, twenty hours a week for ten weeks.

(5) The allotments to the states are to be made annually on the basis of the total illiterate population resident in the states and of persons ten years of age and over who are unable to speak the English language, — in the ratio which these totals bear to similar totals for the entire country.[1] It should be noted that the allotment is on one age basis (ten years and over) while the instruction to be provided is on another age basis (sixteen years and over).

(6) Each state must submit to the Secretary of the Interior for approval its:

> "plans showing the manner in which it is proposed that the appropriation shall be used, including the kind of instruction and equipment to be provided, courses of study, methods of instruction, qualifications of teachers, supervisors, and directors, and the kind of schools in which and the conditions under which the training of teachers, supervisors, and directors is to be given."

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[1] Excluding the District of Columbia.

If the Secretary of the Interior approves these detailed plans and is convinced that a state is using or is prepared to use the allotments, he shall certify to the Secretary of the Interior the amounts of money to which the state is entitled. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to withhold allotments when previous allotments have not been expended or when "other terms and conditions of this act have not been complied with."

(7) Each state must guarantee against loss or subversion of the funds.

(8) The Department of the Interior is given an initial appropriation of $250,000 and $1,000,000 annually thereafter, "for the purpose of administering, carrying out, and enforcing the provisions of this act," and for making investigations, studies, and reports.

(9) No part of a Federal allotment is to be spent "for the support of any religious or privately owned and conducted school or institution."

(10) An annual report to Congress is required of the Secretary of the Interior, including a "statement as to what has been done by the several States thereunder."

(11) The Secretary of the Interior is:

> "authorized to perform any and all acts and make all rules and regulations which he shall deem necessary and proper to carry this act into full force and effect."

The purpose of this bill is laudable. It starts with the existing native illiterate and un-Americanized groups and proposes a type of education that is designed to make of these people as good citizens as possible under the conditions. It places a great deal of power in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior, — power that might well be seriously questioned in view of the fact that the Secretary of the Interior already has many very widely different duties to perform. If it be replied that the Commissioner of Education is to exercise this power under the general direction of the Secretary of the Interior, the answer is that the qualifications of neither are changed by this interrelationship and possible division of power. Clearly, it is not wise to place the powers granted in this bill in the hands of any one but the best-qualified educational administrator in the land. It is equally clear that the services of such a man cannot be secured either in the office of the Commissioner of Education or in the office of the Secretary of the Interior, for the best-qualified educational administrator could not accept the salary or the subordinate position of the Commissioner nor would he be willing to undertake the other duties of the Secretary of the Interior.

The bill is faulty in four ways respecting the work it undertakes to do.

In the first place, the bill does not provide for the group between ten and sixteen years of age, — a period in which children can learn a language and acquire basic civic standards far more readily than after the age of sixteen. To say that a native- or foreign-born person between ten and sixteen years of age is to be put into the beginning class with six-year-old children in the public schools is to admit that one does not understand the practical working of our public-school system.

In the second place, the bill does not seem to recognize that there are two distinct problems involved in its general terms, viz., the problem of teaching those who already understand spoken English, — the purely technical problem of associating familiar ideas and familiar spoken words with written and printed forms, — and the problem of teaching those to whom English is as Greek, — a problem of associating ideas with strange spoken words and stranger written and printed forms.

In the third place, there is no valid reason for limiting the social value of the work contemplated in the bill to those who have not passed the age of twenty-one. Compulsion might not be advisable beyond this age, but opportunity is advisable and desirable. It is a mistake to limit the bounty of the Government to those who have not passed the age of twenty-one.

In the fourth place, the bill does not go to the heart of the illiteracy problem, — namely, the underlying deficiencies in the rural schools. To reduce adult illiteracy will bring no permanent relief. The significance of the rural and village schools to this problem is fully discussed in Chapter XVIII.

The crowning objection to the bill, however, is that it does not meet the whole educational need of the country as revealed by the war. It makes no provision for physical and health education, for the preparation of teachers for the public schools, nor for the equalization of educational opportunities within the states. It substantially denies the validity of these claims. There is no statesmanship in so narrow a proposal. The provisions of the bill "in and of themselves" are not objectionable, but they represent a delusive surface-measure which, taken alone, will be both uneconomical and disappointing. The defects that it seeks to remedy cannot be considered "in and of themselves," but only as parts of a larger whole. That larger whole is nothing less than the ideal of democracy as embodied in a perfected free public-school system. When that ideal is realized, there will no native-born illiterates growing up in successive generations, and there will be no non-Americanized foreign-born, because compulsory attendance will put all children into school and because the school itself will prepare the foreigner who comes to our shores for citizenship. It seems far wiser to provide for the extension of the public-school system to meet the needs of our day and generation than to create for five or six years a faulty machinery to do very largely under Federal direction a work that the public-school system can and will do if it is given the encouragement and the aid that it ought to have.

The one comprehensive educational bill now before Congress is the Smith-Towner Bill.[1] This bill was prepared in outline form by the Emergency Commission of the National Education Association during the spring and summer of 1918. It was introduced into the Sixty-fifth Congress by Senator Hoke Smith in October, 1918, and by Representative Horace Mann Towner on January 30, 1919. During the interval between March, 1919, and May, 1919, the bill was revised with the active coöperation of the Educational Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and reintroduced in the Sixty-sixth Congress in May, 1919.

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[1] H. R. 7; S. 1017, 66th Congress.

The bill is comprehensive because it provides a program to correct not only the superficial weaknesses which the war revealed in our American public educational system, but also the underlying deficiencies which stand to these weaknesses as cause to effect. It creates a Department of Education that has a real function to fulfill, — and a function that can be fulfilled, as the terms of the bill clearly provide, without infringing upon the rights of the states. It includes an appropriation for the removal of illiteracy among the native-born, and another appropriation for the Americanization of the foreign-born. It provides, by appropriation, for a program of equalizing educational opportunities within every state, and thus aims squarely and effectively at the fundamental defects of rural education. It makes possible a comprehensive and nation-wide program of physical and health education. And, fundamental to the success of all these measures, it places the preparation of teachers upon a solid and substantial basis.[1]

In the chapters that immediately follow, these provisions and the facts associated with them will be considered in detail.

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[1] The Smith-Towner Bill is found in full in Appendix C.

CHAPTER XV

THE REDUCTION OF ILLITERACY AMONG THE NATIVE-BORN

WE have already seen that the problem of illiteracy was widely discussed during the two decades following the Civil War, and that several proposals were introduced in Congress looking toward the solution of the problem through national aid. Although these proposals failed, the churches and private philanthropic enterprises worked unremittingly to remedy the situation. Largely as a result of these efforts, — and particularly those of the Southern Education Board, — the southern states have developed free public-school systems which have been important agencies in reducing illiteracy. At the same time, the population has increased rapidly in the South, the increase has come in large measure from desirable sources, and these factors have co-operated with educational efforts to improve conditions. In the North and West, on the other hand, the large influx of immigrants from Southeastern Europe has tended to increase illiteracy, and the failure of most of the states to raise significantly the standards of rural education has prevented the reduction of illiteracy among the native-born in a measure that might have been expected. The situation, then, is still far from comforting.

Illiteracy may be considered in totals as well in percentages of totals. The *Abstract of the Census* (1910, p. 239) gives a table from which some instructive comparisons can be made.

In 1880, there were 6,239,958 illiterates in the country as a whole. In 1910, there were 5,516,163 illiterates. In thirty years the decrease had amounted to 723,795, or an average annual decrease of 24,126. If this rate of decrease is continued, illiteracy will disappear at the end of 228 years. This seems a hopeless prospect.

If we consider whites alone, we get less comfort. In 1880, there were 3,019,080 white illiterates in the United States. In 1910, the white illiterates numbered 3,184,633, — an increase of 165,553. The average annual increase was 5518. The explanation of this startling increase is found in the fact that the number of foreign-born white illiterates increased from 763,620 in 1880 to 1,650,361 in 1910, — an average yearly increase of 29,558. This vast group will be considered in Chapter XVI.

In the same thirty-year span, 1880–1910, the native-white illiterates decreased from 2,255,460 to 1,534,272 — a decrease of 721,188, or an average annual decrease of 24,039. At this rate, illiteracy among the native whites would disappear after the lapse of sixty-three years.

The census figures do not permit a thirty-year comparison regarding the negroes or the subdivisions of the native-white illiterates. The figures are available, however, in the table quoted, for a twenty-year span. Illiteracy among native whites of native parentage decreased from 1,890,723 in 1890 to 1,378,884 in 1910, — a decrease of 511,239 in twenty years, or an average annual decrease of 25,562. This annual decrease would need to be repeated fifty-three times to bring this type of illiteracy to an end.

The native whites of foreign or mixed parentage decreased from 174,280 in 1890 to 155,388 in 1910, — an actual decrease of 18,892 per year. If this rate were maintained, illiterates of this group would disappear in about eight or nine years.

Whenever illiteracy among the native-born is mentioned, one thinks at once of the negro. In the twenty years from 1890 to 1910, the negro illiterates decreased from 3,042,668 to 2,227,731, — an average annual decrease of 40,726. If this average annual decrease could be maintained, illiteracy among the negroes would disappear fifty-four or fifty-five years after 1910, — or just about one year after illiteracy disappeared among the native whites of native parentage.

It is well known, however, that illiteracy does not disappear according to such regular decreases as have been assumed for the purposes of comparative illustration. It disappears only as the older illiterates are taught and as those who are under the age of ten are so taught that they do not become classified as illiterates. The complete elimination of illiteracy among the native-born whites and among the negroes is primarily a problem of education during the years of childhood, — not a problem of adult training. The prospects of a substantial reduction through this agency are at the present time very far from encouraging unless the problem of rural education can be attacked on a nation-wide basis.

Technically, an illiterate is a person ten years of age or over who cannot write in any language; the standard assumed is that those who cannot write cannot read. On the educational side, therefore, the problem of removing illiteracy among native-born adults is a problem of organizing means and methods by which those who are ten years of age or over may be taught to read and write the English language. The fundamental purpose of such instruction is to make it possible for these people to participate in the broader social life through the ideas which they may acquire from the printed page and which they may express by means of writing.

It is evident that most of these illiterates are overage, or "retarded," when judged by public-school standards. In justice to them and to the children of normal age-grade in our public schools, an organization distinct but not separate from our present public-school organization should be created. The schools for illiterates should be a part of the public-school system, but they should have their own distinct organization, which, in turn, should be determined by the particular kind of work that is to be done with illiterates.

The elimination of illiteracy among the native-born, then, is primarily a public-school problem. All children should go to school long past the age of ten years. Every state in the Union has found it necessary to enact compulsory school laws to secure the minimum results expected from education. The right of parents to educate their own children cannot be construed to include the right to leave them entirely unschooled. The state, representing the organized collective interests of the people as a whole, has established its right to compel parents to send children to school to the end that its own future welfare may be safeguarded. If in one state 71.7 per cent of the children from ten to fourteen years of age are in school, while in another state 95.5 per cent of the children of these ages are in school, there will inevitably be a vast social difference between these two states in the years that lie ahead. If the ages from five to nine be considered, and the first state has only 40.2 per cent of these children in school while, between the same ages, the second state has 73.9 per cent in school, the next census will show a much higher per cent of illiteracy in the first state.[1] It is futile to contend that the evil effects of this condition will be limited to the state itself. Illiteracy anywhere within the national boundaries is a menace to the whole nation. The obvious conclusion is that an effective and thoroughgoing type of elementary education must be made universal if illiteracy is to be stamped out.

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[1] See table 20, p. 238, *Abstract of the Census*, 1910, for material for data for numberless comparisons of this sort.

In age groups, the native illiterates are distributed as follows:[1]

1910	Negro	Per Cent	Native White	Per Cent
10 to 14 years of age . . .	218,555	18.9	131,991	1.7
15 to 19 years of age . . .	214,860	20.3	140,323	1.9
20 to 24 years of age . . .	245,860	23.9	148,541	2.3
25 to 34 years of age . . .	380,742	24.6	247,774	2.4
35 to 44 years of age . . .	351,858	32.3	235,489	3.0
45 to 64 years of age . . .	584,514	52.7	446,855	5.0
64 and more years of age .	219,255	74.5	179,219	7.3

This table shows that the public school has gradually increased in effectiveness. This is clearly true in the urban communities, and the large increase of the urban population is in part responsible for the improvements that the table reveals. It is clear, too, that the decrease in illiteracy is in part accounted for by death in the older age-groups in which the percentage of illiteracy is highest. This is only another recognition of the work of the elementary school. If the elementary school could enroll all children between the ages of six and ten, and teach them with a reasonable degree of efficiency, the next census should show no illiterates in the age-group ten to fourteen years. Another decade should show none in the age-groups fifteen to nineteen and twenty to twenty-four. In this way illiteracy would be prevented, — not removed, for under this plan death alone will entirely eliminate illiteracy.

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[1] Made from table 27, pp. 241–242, *Abstract of the Census*, 1910. Note that the time-span is not the same in all cases. It is five years, then ten, and finally twenty years. The percentage columns show the proportion which each illiterate age-group bears to the total of that age-group. To obtain the percentage of literacy, one should take the complement of the percentages shown.

The fundamental cause of illiteracy as it exists to-day in the native-born population is therefore to be sought and found in the inadequate available school facilities and in the lack of an effective policy of compulsory school attendance. There is very little illiteracy that is due to the individual illiterate. The fault lay, then, with whom? To a very small extent, with the parents who would not send their children to school, but chiefly with communities that did not organize good schools, with states that did not safeguard their own welfare by requiring good schools to be established, and with both states and communities that did not compel school attendance. The full significance of this neglect did not appear until illiteracy revealed itself in its true light as a National handicap. The Nation called the men between twenty-one and thirty-one to her defense in 1917, and found that 700,000 of them were illiterate. These men, no matter how great their desire to serve their country, were, as a group, liabilities instead of assets. Their very presence in the training camps interfered with the preparation of others and appreciably delayed our effective participation in the war, and when they were sent to France, their inability to read orders, to interpret signals, and to coöperate in a multitude of other ways in which a knowledge of reading and writing is indispensable, caused no end of confusion and delay, to say nothing of personal embarrassment and mortification.

NUMBER OF ILLITERATES IN THE UNITED STATES TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, EXCLUDING FOREIGN-BORN WHITES, 3,762,003.

Amount of Federal aid for each illiterate under terms of Bill, $1.994.

	NUMBER OF ILLITERATE NATIVES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 1910	PER CENT OF TOTAL ILLITERATE NATIVES IN 1910	ALLOTMENT OF $7,500,000.00 SECTION 8
Continental United States:	3,762,003	100.0000	$7,500,000.00
North Atlantic Division	173,560	4.6137	346,078.64
North Central Division	315,595	8.3890	629,296.43
South Atlantic Division	1,403,241	37.3003	2,798,062.55
South Central Division	1,810,303	48.1207	3,609,744.18
Western Division	59,304	1.5763	118,252.18
Total	3,762,003	100.0000	$7,501,433.98
North Atlantic Division:			
Maine	9,917	.2636	$ 19,774.50
New Hampshire	2,890	.0768	5,762.66
Vermont	4,564	.1213	9,100.62
Massachusetts	11,747	.3122	23,423.52
Rhode Island	4,005	.1064	7,985.97
Connecticut	4,375	.1162	8,723.75
New York	42,086	1.1187	83,919.48
New Jersey	19,658	.5225	39,198.05
Pennsylvania	74,318	1.9754	148,190.09
North Central Division:			
Ohio	57,770	1.5356	$ 115,193.38
Indiana	47,914	1.2736	95,540.52
Illinois	50,199	1.3343	100,096.81
Michigan	18,672	.4963	37,231.97
Wisconsin	11,581	.3078	23,092.51
Minnesota	6,053	.1608	12,069.68

NUMBER OF ILLITERATES IN THE UNITED STATES TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, EXCLUDING FOREIGN-BORN WHITES, 3,762,003 (*Cont.*)

	NUMBER OF ILLITERATE NATIVES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 1910	PER CENT OF TOTAL ILLITERATE NATIVES IN 1910	ALLOTMENT OF $7,500,000.00 SECTION 8
North Central Division (*Cont.*)			
Iowa	12,813	.3405	$ 25,549.12
Missouri	88,304	2.3472	176,078.17
North Dakota	1,439	.0382	2,869.37
South Dakota	1,277	.0339	2,546.34
Nebraska	4,760	.1265	9,491.44
Kansas	14,813	.3937	29,537.12
South Atlantic Division:			
Delaware	9,870	.2623	$ 19,680.78
Maryland	61,241	1.6278	122,114.55
District of Columbia	11,774	.3129	23,477.36
Virginia	230,407	6.1245	459,431.56
West Virginia	61,754	1.6415	123,137.48
North Carolina	288,492	7.6685	575,253.05
South Carolina	276,487	7.3494	551,315.08
Georgia	398,842	10.3363	775,350.94
Florida	74,374	1.9767	148,301.75
South Central Division:			
Kentucky	204,697	5.4411	$ 408,165.81
Tennessee	219,507	5.8348	437,696.96
Alabama	350,396	9.3140	698,689.62
Mississippi	288,137	7.6591	574,545.18
Louisiana	339,507	9.0246	676,976.96
Texas	215,209	5.7205	429,126.75
Arkansas	141,423	3.7592	281,997.46
Oklahoma	51,427	1.3670	102,545.44
Western Division:			
Montana	850	.0225	$ 1,694.90
Wyoming	400	.0106	797.60
Colorado	8,989	.2389	17,924.07
New Mexico	30,529	.8115	60,874.83
Arizona	3,898	.1036	7,772.61
Utah	881	.0234	1,756.71
Nevada	213	.0056	424.72
Idaho	744	.0197	1,483.54
Washington	2,075	.0551	4,137.55
Oregon	1,887	.0501	3,762.68
California	8,838	.2349	17,622.97

Where are these illiterates? The preceding table shows the distribution of native-born illiterates by groups of states, and by states, both as to actual numbers and as to the per cent of the whole number of illiterates resident in a given state or group of states. For convenience, this table also shows the allotment to each state for the removal of illiteracy in accordance with the provisions of section eight of the Smith-Towner Bill.

The Smith-Towner Bill does not seek to impose upon the states any special method or device for the removal of illiteracy. To frame effective programs for the solution of this problem is clearly the duty of the states. The proper place and function of the Federal Government is to stimulate the states to undertake it, and to render financial assistance to each state, first, in proportion to its need as shown by its per cent of the total number of illiterates, and, secondly, in proportion to the effort which the state itself is willing to make toward the removal of illiteracy. The Federal allotment is $1.994 annually for each illiterate. An equal appropriation by a state would make available almost $4.00 annually for each illiterate within a given state. It would be unwise to attempt to teach all of the illiterates of any state in a given year. The work of instruction demands specially prepared teachers who are not now available. If, however, one tenth of the illiterates of the youngest age-groups were selected, and approximately forty dollars made available for the instruction of each, a most satisfactory beginning could be made. The teachers would be gaining experience with the group that is easiest to teach, and thus be preparing themselves for the more difficult task of teaching the older age-groups.

The plan thus far outlined would not of itself be successful. It needs the assured support which the allotments for the equalization of educational opportunities and for the preparation of teachers afford. It will suffice here to state that these allotments in the Smith-Towner Bill are sufficient to assure twenty-four weeks of school each year for every child in America and to assure, also, in a very short time, a well-prepared teacher for every schoolroom in the land.

There is another reason for not attempting to prescribe by Federal legislation the methods of procedure by the states. Constitutionally, the right to organize, supervise, and administer education within a state is clearly the function of the state itself. If a state accepts a law with procedure specifically defined in it, it substantially enters into a contract with the Federal Government. It is an open and undetermined question whether such a contract is not itself unconstitutional. In other words, can a state by contract surrender to the Federal Government a function which the Constitution has reserved to the state? Since the purpose of the bill is to have illiteracy removed, it is wise not to involve in the issue provisions that raise constitutional questions

The problem of removing illiteracy has been before the country and before Congress for fifty years. Our participation in the World War has set the disadvantage and menace of illiteracy in unprecedented clearness before the Nation. If the problem is ever to be attacked vigorously, now is the time.

The table on pages 156-157 shows the number of native-born white illiterates, negro illiterates, and total native-born illiterates for 1900 and 1910. A careful examination of the data will serve to emphasize the necessity for Federal stimulation.[1]

In reading the table, one should keep several things clearly in mind or errors of inference will result:

(1) The decrease and the percentage of decrease are for a ten-year period. To appreciate what the decrease is, one should constantly think in terms of one tenth of the figures given.

(2) The decrease is in considerable measure due to the high rate of mortality in the older groups. If compulsory school attendance were thoroughly effective in every state, illiteracy would practically disappear in from fifty to sixty years.

(3) Compulsory attendance in many of the states actually decreased illiteracy during the ten years in question by preventing any considerable additions from the groups that had reached the age of ten.

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[1] This table has been prepared from table 30, p. 245, *Abstract of the Census*, 1910.

	Native-born White Illiterates			Negro			Total Native-born Illiterates			% Which Decrease is of 1900 Total
	1900	1910	Decrease	1900	1910	Decrease	1900	1910	Decrease	
North Atlantic States	192,054	136,808	55,246	44,215	32,092	12,123	236,669	186,900	67,769	28.6
North Central States	354,617	257,085	97,532	87,914	58,501	29,413	442,531	315,586	126,945	28.6
South Atlantic States	541,530	433,809	107,721	1,250,279	969,432	280,847	1,791,809	1,403,236	388,573	21.6
South Central States	754,967	645,674	109,293	1,521,012	1,202,749	318,233	2,275,979	1,848,424	427,255	18.7
Western States	61,330	56,127	5,203	3,399	3,099	300	64,729	59,226	5,503	8.5
North Atlantic States:										
Maine	11,394	9,824	1,570	155	93	62	11,549	9,917	1,632	14.1
New Hampshire	3,840	2,839	1,001	70	51	19	3,910	2,890	1,020	25.1
Vermont	6,934	4,495	2,439	99	69	30	7,033	4,564	2,469	35.1
Massachusetts	10,739	9,163	1,576	2,853	2,584	269	13,592	11,747	1,845	13.5
Rhode Island	3,716	3,253	463	1,003	752	251	4,719	4,005	714	15.1
Connecticut	3,678	3,583	95	1,441	792	649	5,519	4,375	1,144	13.4
New York	47,350	36,318	11,032	9,180	5,708	3,472	56,530	42,026	14,504	25.6
New Jersey	17,031	12,253	4,778	9,882	7,405	2,477	26,913	19,658	7,255	26.1
Pennsylvania	87,372	55,080	32,292	19,532	14,638	4,894	106,904	69,718	37,186	34.7
North Central States:										
Ohio	67,155	47,310	19,845	14,107	10,460	3,647	81,262	57,770	23,492	28.7
Indiana	63,800	40,955	22,845	10,594	6,959	3,635	74,304	47,914	26,480	35.5
Illinois	58,037	40,486	17,551	12,903	9,713	3,190	70,940	50,199	20,741	29.2
Michigan	22,277	17,846	4,431	1,426	826	600	23,703	18,672	5,031	21.2
Wisconsin	13,989	11,468	2,521	250	113	137	14,239	11,581	2,658	18.6
Minnesota	6,338	5,838	500	337	215	122	6,675	6,053	622	8.9
Iowa	16,522	11,541	4,981	1,962	1,272	690	18,484	12,813	5,671	30.6
Missouri	87,410	65,242	22,168	36,390	23,062	13,328	123,800	88,304	35,496	27.8
North Dakota	1,063	1,413	+ 350	31	20	11	1,094	1,433	+ 339	+30.9
South Dakota	1,204	1,239	+ 35	51	38	13	1,255	1,277	+ 22	+ 1.7
Nebraska	4,717	4,275	442	633	482	151	5,350	4,757	593	11.0
Kansas	12,105	9,472	2,633	9,230	5,341	3,889	21,335	14,813	6,522	30.5

+ shows increase.

	Native-born White Illiterates			Negro			Total Native-Born Illiterates			% Which Decrease is of 1900 Total
	1900	1910	Decrease	1900	1910	Decrease	1900	1910	Decrease	
South Atlantic States:										
Delaware	6,072	3,525	2,547	8,967	6,345	2,622	15,039	9,870	5,169	34.3
Maryland	26,432	18,952	7,480	63,033	42,289	20,744	89,465	61,241	28,224	31.5
District of Columbia	1,138	960	178	17,462	10,814	6,648	18,600	11,774	6,826	36.8
Virginia	96,117	81,457	14,660	213,836	148,950	64,886	309,953	230,407	79,546	25.6
West Virginia	64,281	51,407	12,874	11,083	10,347	736	75,364	61,754	13,610	18.0
North Carolina	175,645	132,189	43,456	208,132	156,303	51,829	383,777	288,492	95,285	33.0
South Carolina	54,375	50,245	4,130	283,883	226,242	57,641	338,258	276,487	61,771	18.2
Georgia	100,431	80,203	20,228	379,067	308,639	70,428	479,498	388,837	90,661	18.7
Florida	17,039	14,871	2,168	64,816	59,503	5,313	81,855	74,374	7,481	9.1
South Central States:										
Kentucky	169,324	146,797	22,527	88,137	57,900	30,237	257,461	204,697	52,264	20.4
Tennessee	157,396	120,966	36,430	147,784	98,541	49,243	305,180	219,508	85,672	28.0
Alabama	103,570	84,768	18,802	338,605	265,628	72,977	442,175	350,396	91,779	20.7
Mississippi	36,038	28,599	7,439	313,312	259,438	53,874	349,350	288,037	61,313	17.5
Arkansas	76,036	55,025	21,011	167,138	124,618	42,520	243,174	179,643	63,531	25.7
Louisiana	82,227	85,359	+3,132	284,028	254,148	29,880	366,255	339,507	26,748	7.3
Oklahoma	35,370	33,569	1,801	14,870	17,858	+3,018	50,240	51,427	+1,187	+ 2.3
Texas	95,006	90,591	4,415	167,138	124,618	42,520	262,144	215,209	46,935	17.9
Western States:										
Montana	752	736	16	152	114	38	904	850	54	5.9
Idaho	862	707	155	37	37	0	899	744	155	17.2
Wyoming	348	298	50	141	102	39	489	400	89	18.2
Colorado	8,692	8,133	559	962	850	112	9,654	8,983	671	6.9
New Mexico	34,525	30,338	4,187	271	191	80	34,796	30,529	4,267	12.2
Arizona	3,096	3,776	+ 680	211	122	89	3,307	3,898	+ 591	+17.8
Utah	1,048	772	276	37	49	+ 12	1,085	821	264	24.3
Nevada	133	187	+ 54	29	26	3	162	213	+ 51	+31.4
Washington	1,374	1,836	+ 462	259	239	20	1,633	2,075	+ 442	+27.0
Oregon	2,180	1,841	339	89	40	49	2,269	1,881	388	17.1
California	8,320	7,503	817	1,211	1,329	+118	9,531	8,832	699	7.3

+ shows increase.

(4) The shifting of population also accounts for some decreases and some increases. Oklahoma's increase in negro illiterates probably meant small decreases for Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. The increase of white illiterates in the Dakotas was due to the influx of population to take up the land. In this population, there were some illiterates. The numbers are small, but they illustrate the movement very clearly.

(5) How many illiterates a state has acquired by immigration and how many it has lost by emigration cannot be clearly determined. It is safe to say, however, that the older states have lost illiterates by emigration while the newer states have gained by immigration. Since free movement from one state to another is one of the Constitutional provisions, a National problem is here involved which is usually overlooked. Industrial opportunities in one state may invite the immigration of illiterates from other states, and the first state may be absolutely powerless to protect itself from them no matter how undesirable they may be.

(6) The whole array of facts shows that very little was done by the states for the reduction of adult illiteracy in the decade under consideration. For the most part, the decrease was due to the prevention of additions from the children. If anything is to be done to remove existing illiteracy, the states must be effectively stimulated to do it. Merely to contend that it is

the duty of the states to remove illiteracy will not bring it about. A substantial inducement, equal to the Nation's interest in the matter, is defensible from every point of view.

It is impossible to close this discussion of illiteracy without a glance at illiteracy among the foreign-born. With them, illiteracy also means, in most cases, lack of ability to understand spoken English. There are many foreign-born persons who are classed as literates because, although they do not understand spoken English or printed English, they can read and write in their mother tongue.

We have already massed the facts regarding illiteracy among the native-born. With this increase or decrease as a starting point, we may set up the facts for the foreign-born illiterates for each state, noting whether there has been an increase or decrease. From this is derived the total increase or decrease for each state. Then from total increases or decreases in the decade we get a final column that shows what the several states have done toward solving the problem of illiteracy during the decade. This table has been prepared from data found on page 245, *Abstract of the Census*, 1919.

	INCREASE OR DECREASE FROM 1900 TO 1910 NATIVE-BORN ILLITERATES	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE ILLITERATES			TOTAL ILLITERATES		
		1900	1910	Increase or Decrease	1900	1910	Increase (+) or Decrease (−)
North Atlantic States	67,769	734,424	977,757	+243,333	976,467	1,154,618	+178,151
North Central States	126,945	383,376	418,186	+ 34,810	858,322	754,922	−103,400
South Atlantic States	388,573	26,487	44,937	+ 18,413	1,821,346	1,444,294	−377,052
South Central States	425,952	78,339	92,889	+ 14,550	2,318,579	1,917,704	−400,875
Western States	5,503	63,959	120,595	+ 56,636	205,286	244,559	+ 39,273
North Atlantic States:							
Maine	1,062	17,195	14,394	− 2,801	29,000	24,554	− 4,446
New Hampshire	1,020	17,126	13,485	− 3,641	21,075	16,386	− 4,689
Vermont	2,469	9,205	6,239	− 2,966	16,247	10,806	− 5,441
Massachusetts	1,845	119,582	129,412	+ 9,830	134,043	141,541	+ 7,498
Rhode Island	714	24,157	29,781	+ 5,624	29,004	33,854	+ 4,850
Connecticut	744	37,723	49,202	+ 11,479	42,973	53,665	+ 10,692
New York	14,504	258,423	362,025	+103,602	318,100	406,020	+ 87,920
New Jersey	7,255	59,307	93,551	+ 34,244	86,658	113,502	+ 26,844
Pennsylvania	37,186	191,706	279,668	+ 87,962	299,376	354,290	+ 54,914
North Central States:							
Ohio	23,492	50,155	66,887	+ 16,732	131,541	124,774	− 6,767
Indiana	26,480	16,059	18,200	+ 2,141	90,539	66,213	− 24,326
Illinois	20,741	86,668	117,751	+ 31,083	157,958	168,294	+ 10,336
Michigan	5,031	54,399	51,113	− 3,286	80,482	74,800	− 5,682
Wisconsin	2,658	56,396	43,662	− 12,734	73,779	57,709	− 16,070
Minnesota	672	42,142	40,627	− 1,515	52,946	49,336	− 3,610
Iowa	5,671	21,431	16,894	− 4,537	40,172	29,889	− 10,283
Missouri	35,496	19,944	22,631	+ 2,687	152,844	111,110	− 41,734
North Dakota	+339	8,432	9,474	+ 1,042	12,719	13,070	+ 351
South Dakota	+ 22	5,835	4,896	− 939	14,832	12,750	− 2,082
Nebraska	593	11,911	12,264	+ 353	17,997	18,009	+ 12
Kansas	6,522	10,004	13,787	+ 3,783	32,513	28,968	− 3,545

	INCREASE OR DECREASE FROM 1900 TO 1910 NATIVE-BORN ILLITERATES	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE ILLITERATES			TOTAL ILLITERATES		
		1900	1910	Increase or Decrease	1900	1910	Increase (+) or Decrease (−)
South Atlantic States:							
Delaware	5,169	2,476	3,359	+ 833	17,531	13,240	− 4,291
Maryland	28,224	12,262	19,047	+ 6,785	101,947	73,397	− 28,550
Dist. of Columbia	6,824	1,342	1,944	+ 602	20,028	13,812	− 6,216
Virginia	79,546	2,043	2,368	+ 325	312,120	232,911	− 79,209
West Virginia	13,610	4,730	13,075	+ 8,345	80,105	74,866	− 5,239
North Carolina	95,285	262	477	+ 215	386,251	291,497	− 94,754
South Carolina	61,771	344	399	+ 55	338,659	276,980	− 61,679
Georgia	90,656	883	875	+ 8	480,420	389,775	− 90,645
Florida	7,481	2,145	3,390	+ 1,245	84,285	77,816	− 6,469
South Central States:							
Kentucky	51,161	5,444	3,300	− 2,144	262,954	208,084	− 54,870
Tennessee	85,673	1,690	1,488	− 202	306,930	221,071	− 85,859
Alabama	91,779	1,313	2,063	+ 750	443,590	352,710	− 90,880
Mississippi	61,313	806	1,364	+ 558	351,461	290,235	− 61,226
Arkansas	63,531	1,124	1,466	+ 342	190,655	142,954	− 47,701
Louisiana	26,748	14,324	12,085	− 2,239	381,145	352,179	− 28,966
Oklahoma	+1,187	2,157	3,828	+ 1,671	67,826	67,567	− 259
Texas	46,935	51,481	67,295	+ 15,814	314,018	282,904	− 31,114
Western States:							
Montana	54	4,264	8,445	+ 4,181	11,675	14,457	+ 2,782
Idaho	155	1,305	2,742	+ 1,437	5,505	5,453	− 52
Wyoming	89	1,349	2,548	+ 1,199	2,878	3,874	+ 996
Colorado	671	7,264	13,897	+ 6,633	17,779	23,780	+ 6,001
New Mexico	4,267	4,397	6,580	+ 2,183	46,971	48,697	+ 1,726
Arizona	+591	7,552	13,758	+ 6,206	27,307	32,953	+ 5,646
Utah	264	3,167	3,636	+ 469	6,141	6,821	+ 680
Nevada	+ 51	641	1,344	+ 703	4,645	4,702	+ 57
Washington	+442	4,546	11,233	+ 6,687	12,740	18,416	+ 5,676
Oregon	388	2,207	6,120	+ 3,913	10,686	10,504	− 182
California	699	27,267	50,292	+ 23 025	58,959	74,902	+ 15,943

CHAPTER XVI

AMERICANIZATION

THE facts that have just been considered relative to the illiterate foreign-born population are only one aspect of the Americanization problem. We know what a native-born illiterate is in our country. If we transplant him imaginatively into a Spanish-speaking country, we can see what little chance he would have to discharge the common duties of citizenship. And yet, in 1910, we had in this country 1,650,361 foreign-born persons over ten years of age who could not write in any language. These people present a triple problem. To teach them to read, write, and speak the English language is one part of it. To give them that elementary body of common knowledge which most children by the age of ten get through school life, schoolbooks, and teachers is another aspect of the problem. To give them the basal ideas and ideals necessary for participation in our social life — with its political responsibilities — is the final aspect of the problem.

To the group just considered must be added those foreign-born persons "literate" in their own language but unable to speak or read English, whose ideas of American life beyond their own neighborhood are gained from the foreign-language press — with all the possibilities for the spread of un-American standards that this medium implies. This group is probably larger than the one previously considered.

There are many points of view from which the problem can be considered. The industrial world complains that these men cannot understand directions when given orally or displayed on printed placards; consequently, they fail to catch the spirit of the shop or industry, — they get in the way, they are much more likely to be injured, they are much more likely to quit work because of trivial misunderstandings. From a community standpoint, these people are apart from, instead of a part of, its life. In their segregation, they remain impervious to community ideals and community activities. Often, because they do not understand, they grow sensitive and sometimes even resentful. Thus they are peculiarly liable to exploitation at the hands both of unscrupulous employers and of designing individuals who, to accomplish their own ends and purposes, misrepresent the attitude and intent of the community or industry, or of the state or Federal Government toward the conditions that affect them most vitally. We became aware of the extent of radical propaganda during the war, — but it has been going on, for one purpose or another, for years;[1] and it will continue as long as we have this mass of ignorant, non-English-speaking people in this country.

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[1] Its real dangers came, of course, with the shifting of the source of immigration from Northern and Western Europe to Southeastern Europe. In so far as we are informed the first serious recognition of the peril in this immigration came in an article by Henry Rood in *The Forum*, Sept., 1892, p. 110.

There is no advantage to be gained from an analysis of the reasons that brought these aliens to our country. It is sufficient to know that they are here under the sanction of the Federal law. They are, until they become naturalized, denizens of the country, as free as are the native-born citizens to go where they will. In general, they stay near the port of debarkation. Many of them plan to remain in America only a short time, — until they have made some money. Industrial plants have taken these men for the rough, unskilled work because they were cheaper than other labor; indeed, it was practically impossible, in many cases, to get any other kind of labor. The Nation has put an end to the importation of laborers under contract, — but this well-intentioned legislation is far from proof against circumvention.

The ostensible theory underlying the admission of foreigners to this country implies the assumption that they will become incorporated into our social and political life. The actual sanction in recent years has been the need of cheap labor. Our fine phrases anent the "land of opportunity" have lacked the note of sincerity and the newcomers have reacted as human beings might be expected to react to a palpably hollow stimulus.

The Federal Government has prescribed the manner and method of acquiring citizenship and has bestowed citizenship when applicants have met its requirements. States, also, have made laws on the same subject. But the language difficulty has been so great that relatively few of the more recently arrived immigrants have become citizens. With a few notable exceptions, the employer has not felt that he should bear the expense of teaching these foreigners the English language and the ideals of American citizenship. He was engaged in a competitive industry, — not in the altruistic work of educating foreigners. The Church has been busy with its own problems, and has felt that Americanization was the function of some other institution. The public school is practically the only agency that has done anything at all. It has done much indirectly through its influence upon the immigrant's children. In a direct and systematic way, it has done most through night schools, especially in the large cities. In the smaller cities, and in the villages and hamlets surrounding mills and mines, comparatively little has been even attempted except in sporadic instances.

The reason why we have done so little in the aggregate for the education of the immigrant lies in the fact that the states have not required it to be done. Since so large a part of the foreign-born population has been transient, — now here, now there, — and because it would be so expensive to cope with the problem, the states have felt that it was defensible to fall back on generalities. So far as the observance of law and order was concerned, the police power of the state was invoked, — even to the creation of a mounted state police. In many quarters, too, it was felt that it was hopeless to attempt to teach English and citizenship to adult foreigners. The old saw, "It is hard to teach an old dog new tricks," was a frequent excuse for an inexcusable neglect. If the children of the foreign-born were put into the public school, it seemed the best that could be done. At least, we consoled ourselves with some such philosophy.

On the other hand, it is true that we did not know how rapidly this foreign-born population was increasing. The census figures for the total foreign-born population for six decades are astounding to any one who sees them for the first time. The following tabulation [1] shows the total foreign-born in the United States at decennial periods and the increase over the preceding decade.

	FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION	INCREASE IN 10-YEAR PERIODS
1860	4,188,058	
1870	5,567,229	1,379,171
1880	6,679,943	1,112,714
1890	9,249,560	2,569,617
1900	10,341,276	1,091,716
1910	13,515,886	3,174,610

Not only was there this enormous increase, but the immigration from countries in which public educational facilities were at a low ebb increased from 1900 to 1910 at an enormous rate. In the decade just quoted, there was a loss of 275,911 from Northwestern Europe and an increase of 3,215,689 from Southern and Eastern Europe, —Russia showing an increase of 1,024,680. This enormous influx from countries in which public education does not exist and in which social and political ideals are so different from our own has given a new aspect to the problem of dealing with the immigrant. The matter of self-preservation has entered into the problem as well as our duty to those to whom educational opportunity has been denied. The gentle process of assimilation can not go on under such conditions unless a special effort is made. Machinery is necessary to cope with such problems. Of the 13,515,886 foreign-born, 12,944,529, or 95.7 per cent, were ten years of age or over in 1910.

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[1] See table, p. 190, *Abstract of the Census*, 1910.

Inability to speak English is only a partial measure of the need for Americanization. One may be able to speak English "in ordinary conversation" and yet not have that degree of literacy which means ability to comprehend the fundamental principles of our government. The need for Americanization work, therefore, is even greater than the inability to speak English in ordinary conversation would indicate.

The facts regarding inability to speak English are set forth in Volume I of the *Thirteenth Census*, pp. 1265–1283. In the Appendix (p. 353) will be found a summary of these facts for each division and state. It is sufficient here to remark that, in 1910, nearly three millions, or 22.8 per cent, of the foreign-born whites ten years of age and over were unable to speak English. In 1900, the corresponding figure stood at 1,217,280. The increase of foreign-born whites ten years of age and over unable to speak English was, for the ten years from 1900 to 1910, 1,735,731. It is evident, therefore, that the Americanization problem more than doubled in ten years,—the increase referred to is 142.5 per cent. This increase, so far as absolute numbers is concerned, was largely localized in the great industrial states, and was made up, in large measure, of those who came from Southern and Southeastern Europe.

The Smith-Towner Bill assumes that the Americanization of the foreign-born immigrant is a matter of great importance to our country. The actual work must, of course, be done by state agencies. The bill seeks to stimulate the states to undertake this work. Congress has no power to force the states to undertake it, and even if it did have the power, it would still remain true that voluntary coöperation is always better than coercion.

The question, then, is not primarily one of the Constitutional right of Congress to expend money under the terms of the Smith-Towner Bill. That right is clear. The question is one of expediency. If Congress does not do something, what will happen with regard to Americanization? If Congress enacts the Smith-Towner Bill into law, what will happen with regard to Americanization?

It is practically certain that not all, or even a respectable fraction of the states, will deal adequately with the Americanization problem wholly of their own initiative, and with their own funds. This judgment is based on what the states have already done with regard to this particular problem, the problem of illiteracy, physical and health education, the preparation of teachers, and the equalization of educational opportunities. It is also based on the workings of the Smith-Hughes Act regarding vocational education, the Morrill and related acts regarding technical education, the land grants for state universities, and the grant of Lot No. 16. There is not only the inducement which the money grant sets up; there is also the appeal to pride in a coöperative movement of great worth and magnitude. If the Smith-Towner Bill is enacted into law, the states that have large groups of immigrants will work out plans for the Americanization of these people. A social machinery will be created and the problem will be solved within a decade.

As in the case of reducing illiteracy, it is not wise for Congress to specify in great detail just how this work of Americanization shall be done. There is no body of accumulated experience that points infallibly to the best procedure. The states, once entered upon the work, will be anxious to find the best ways of doing it, and wholesome rivalry will have its good results. The states are more competent to construct and manage the necessary machinery for the solution of this problem than is the National Government, because the latter has no public-school system [1] under its control and has had no significant experience in creating one for a special purpose. Nor is it well to ask the states to accept a long list of specific limiting conditions in their acceptance of the act itself. There is nothing but good faith between Congress and the states in this or any other matter not covered by explicit Constitutional provisions, and good faith does not require prescriptive details.

It is fair to assume that the states would undertake to do this work in perfect good faith knowing that by carrying it to successful completion, the state would be benefiting itself and at the same time performing a distinct and helpful national service.

The following tabulation shows the number of foreign-born residents in each state, the proportion which this number bears to the total foreign-born population, and the apportionment of funds for immigrant education under the terms of the Smith-Towner Bill. Each state would appropriate for this purpose a like amount. Under the plan here proposed, the completion of a ten-year period would give us a practically complete solution of the present problem of Americanization.

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[1] Excepting those in the District of Columbia, in Alaska, and among the Indians.

Americanization of Foreigners

Number of Foreign-born Immigrants in United States . . 13,515,886
Amount of Federal Aid per Capita under Terms of Bill . . $0.555

	Number of Foreign-born in United States 1910	Per Cent of Total Foreign-born	Allotment for Americanization, Section Nine
Continental United States	13,515,886	100.0000	$7,500,000.00
North Atlantic Division	6,676,283	49.3958	3,705,337.07
North Central Division	4,690,461	34.7033	2,603,205.86
South Atlantic Division	299,994	2.2196	166,496.67
South Central Division	440,017	3.2556	244,209.43
Western Division . .	1,409,131	10.4257	782,067.70
Total	13,515,886	100.0000	$7,501,316.73
North Atlantic Division:			
Maine	110,562	.8180	61,361.91
New Hampshire . . .	96,667	.7152	53,650.18
Vermont	49,921	.3693	27,706.15
Massachusetts . . .	1,059,245	7.8370	587,880.98
Rhode Island . . .	179,141	1.3254	99,423.26
Connecticut	329,574	2.4384	182,913.57
New York	2,748,011	20.3317	1,525,146.11
New Jersey	660,788	4.8899	366,737.34
Pennsylvania . . .	1,442,374	10.6716	800,517.57
North Central Division:			
Ohio	598,374	4.4271	332,097.57
Indiana	159,663	1.1812	88,612.97
Illinois	1,205,314	8.9177	668,949.27
Michigan	597,550	4.4210	331,640.25
Wisconsin	512,865	3.7945	284,640.07
Minnesota	543,595	4.0218	301,695.23
Iowa	273,765	2.0255	151,939.58
Missouri	229,779	1.7000	127,527.34
North Dakota . . .	156,654	1.1590	86,942.97
South Dakota . . .	100,790	.7457	55,938.45
Nebraska	176,662	1.3070	98,047.41
Kansas	135,450	1.0021	75,174.75
South Atlantic Division:			
Delaware	17,492	.1294	9,708.06
Maryland	104,944	.7764	58,243.92
District of Columbia .	24,902	.1842	13,820.61
Virginia	27,057	.2008	15,016.64
West Virginia . . .	57,218	.4233	31,755.99

Americanization of Foreigners — *Continued*

	Number of Foreign-born in United States 1910	Per Cent of Total Foreign-born	Allotment for Americanization, Section Nine
South Atlantic Division — Continued			
North Carolina . . .	6,092	.0457	$3,381.06
South Carolina . . .	6,179	.0457	3,429.35
Georgia	15,477	.1145	8,589.73
Florida	40,633	.3006	22,551.31
South Central Division:			
Kentucky	40,162	.2971	22,289.91
Tennessee	18,607	.1376	10,326.88
Alabama	19,286	.1426	10,703.73
Mississippi	9,770	.0722	5,422.35
Louisiana	52,766	.3093	29,285.13
Texas	241,938	1.7900	134,275.59
Arkansas	17,046	.1261	9,460.53
Oklahoma	40,442	.2992	22,445.31
Western Division:			
Montana	94,713	.7007	52,565.72
Wyoming	29,020	.2147	16,106.10
Colorado	129,587	.9587	71,920.79
New Mexico	23,146	.1712	12,846.03
Arizona	48,765	.3607	27,064.57
Utah	65,822	.4869	36,531.21
Nevada	19,691	.1456	10,928.50
Idaho	42,578	.3150	23,630.79
Washington	256,241	1.8958	142,213.75
Oregon	113,136	.8370	62,790.48
California	586,432	4.3388	325,469.76

CHAPTER XVII

PHYSICAL AND HEALTH EDUCATION

No lessons of the war have pointed more compellingly to educational weaknesses than have the rejections from the service and the assignments to limited service because of physical disability. The Nation has become clearly aware of the loss of man-power in war due to these factors. It should see as clearly the enormous loss of man-power from the same causes during peace-times, — a loss the more regrettable in that much if not most of it is easily avoidable. From an economic standpoint, the reduction of the wastage due to physical disability is a policy of both wisdom and expediency. But, beyond this economic aspect of the matter, there is the far more important aspect of human happiness and all the social consequences that are intimately bound up with it.

The report of the Surgeon General contains the following data concerning limited service. In reading the table one should keep constantly in mind that there were, in many states, large numbers exempted on account of occupations who were also physically unfit for military life or fit only for limited service. The proportions may consequently be considered as representing a "cross section" of our male population between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one.

Total number of men examined physically Dec. 15, 1917, to Sept. 11, 1918	3,208,446
Number fully qualified	2,259,027
Number disqualified totally or partially	949,419
Per cent disqualified totally or partially	29.59[1]

The following table, made from the one given on page 417 of the Second Report of the Provost Marshal General, follows the general arrangement of the tables already presented in this book, so that regional comparisons may be easily made.

The facts of the table probably give a fairly representative idea of the variations from physical fitness among the total population. Some additional facts from recent surveys may serve to reënforce the point. The Alabama *Survey*, already quoted, has an excellent statement of the negative aspects of health.

Malaria in Alabama averages 13,000 cases constantly.[2] If the earning power be estimated at only $250 per person, the annual loss is $3,250,000 from malaria alone. The death rate from typhoid fever in 1917 was 38.2 per 100,000, — a rate almost three times as high as in those portions of the United States which are in the "regis-

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[1] Second Report of the Provost Marshal General, 1919, p. 153.

[2] U. S. Bureau of Education, 1919 Bulletin, No. 41, p. 302.

	Total Examined Physically	Physically Qualified		Remediable Group		Limited Service Group		Physically Disqualified	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Continental United States	3,208,446	2,259,027	70.41	88,436	2.76	339,377	10.58	521,606	16.25
North Atlantic Division	864,431	547,716	63.36	33,171	3.83	130,043	15.04	153,501	17.75
North Central Division	1,088,025	789,196	72.53	29,701	2.72	98,908	9.09	170,220	15.64
South Atlantic Division	410,249	298,590	72.77	8,477	2.06	36,735	8.95	66,447	16.19
South Central Division	592,320	459,906	70.89	10,899	1.83	38,127	6.43	83,388	14.07
Western Division	253,421	163,619	64.56	6,188	2.44	35,564	14.03	48,050	18.96
North Atlantic Division:									
Maine	22,646	14,765	65.19	617	2.73	3,378	14.92	3,886	17.16
New Hampshire	12,258	7,793	63.57	247	2.02	2,552	20.82	1,666	13.59
Vermont	10,761	6,056	56.28	364	3.38	1,914	17.79	2,427	22.55
Massachusetts	108,356	62,216	57.42	3,747	3.46	22,192	20.48	20,201	18.64
Rhode Island	15,395	8,264	53.68	574	3.73	2,143	13.92	4,414	28.67
Connecticut	38,631	22,721	58.82	1,700	4.40	6,411	16.00	7,799	20.79
New York	315,536	192,311	60.95	12,631	4.00	49,670	15.74	60,924	19.31
New Jersey	93,964	62,489	66.50	2,458	2.62	14,151	15.06	14,866	15.82
Pennsylvania	246,884	171,101	69.30	10,833	4.39	27,632	11.19	37.318	15.12
North Central Division:									
Ohio	166,177	120,142	72.29	4,925	2.96	18,176	10.94	22,934	13.81
Indiana	74,356	53,811	72.37	1,604	2.15	7,576	10.19	11,365	15.29
Illinois	225,127	163,507	72.63	5,727	2.54	21,334	9.48	34,559	15.35
Michigan	115,412	70,726	61.28	4,089	3.54	13,844	12.00	26,753	23.18
Wisconsin	90,517	64,579	71.35	4,158	4.59	7,974	8.81	13,806	15.25
Minnesota	81,862	62,199	75.98	1,155	1.41	5,930	7.24	12,578	15.37
Iowa	78,272	60,364	77.13	1,797	2.29	5,181	6.62	10,930	13.96
Missouri	115,030	83,949	72.99	2,742	2.38	9,319	8.10	19,020	16.53
North Dakota	25,151	19,498	77.52	256	1.02	1,648	6.55	3,749	14.91
South Dakota	25,806	19,718	76.41	1,183	4.58	1,775	6.88	3,130	12.13
Nebraska	41,646	32,555	78.18	850	2.04	2,864	6.87	5,377	12.91
Kansas	48,669	38,148	78.38	1,215	2.50	3,287	6.75	6,019	12.37

	Total Examined Physically	Physically Qualified		Remediable Group		Limited Service Group		Physically Disqualified	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
South Atlantic Division:									
Delaware	7,003	4,599	65.67	25	.36	1,473	21.03	906	12.94
Maryland	38,392	26,237	68.35	943	2.45	4,197	10.93	7,015	18.27
District of Columbia	12,538	9,069	72.32	490	3.91	1,530	12.21	1,449	11.56
Virginia	68,177	49,146	72.08	1,160	1.70	5,390	7.91	12,481	18.31
West Virginia	51,473	40,047	77.81	710	1.37	3,242	6.30	7,474	14.52
North Carolina	75,498	55,215	73.14	1,393	1.84	7,051	9.34	11,839	15.68
South Carolina	40,197	28,091	69.88	1,478	3.68	3,696	9.20	6,932	17.24
Georgia	84,191	61,527	73.08	1,705	2.02	7,362	8.74	13,597	16.16
Florida	32,780	24,659	75.23	573	1.75	2,794	8.52	4,754	14.50
South Central Division:									
Kentucky	75,024	58,356	77.78	1,208	1.61	4,478	5.97	10,982	14.64
Tennessee	70,367	51,319	72.93	1,459	2.07	5,826	8.28	11,763	16.72
Alabama	69,284	53,717	77.53	1,363	1.97	4,814	6.95	9,390	13.55
Mississippi	55,615	43,376	77.99	951	1.71	3,467	6.24	7,821	14.06
Louisiana	66,142	50,571	76.46	1,464	2.21	4,888	7.39	9,219	13.94
Texas	131,586	101,862	77.41	2,276	1.73	7,334	5.57	20,114	15.29
Arkansas	58,928	46,560	79.02	929	1.57	3,732	6.33	7,707	13.08
Oklahoma	65,374	54,145	82.82	1,249	1.91	3,588	5.49	6,392	9.78
Western Division:									
Montana	31,547	23,159	73.40	727	2.33	3,657	11.59	4,004	12.68
Wyoming	8,279	6,528	78.85	135	1.63	593	7.16	1,023	12.36
Colorado	30,087	17,769	59.06	587	1.95	5,131	17.05	6,600	21.94
New Mexico	11,983	9,296	77.59	239	1.99	723	6.03	1,725	14.39
Arizona	8,979	4,941	55.03	166	1.85	738	8.22	3,134	34.90
Utah	13,844	9,752	70.45	375	2.71	1,721	12.42	1,996	14.42
Nevada	3,482	2,407	69.13	143	4.11	435	12.49	497	14.27
Idaho	15,871	11,250	70.89	762	4.80	1,566	9.87	2,293	14.44
Washington	37,581	20,800	55.35	1,022	2.72	7,179	19.10	8,580	22.83
Oregon	23,996	16,582	69.10	657	2.74	3,243	13.51	3,514	14.65
California	67,772	41,135	60.70	1,375	2.03	10,578	15.61	14,684	21.66

tration area."[1] One child out of every four of school age (6 to 20) is suffering from hookworm in some degree. Of the members of the Alabama National Guard that served on the Mexican border, sixty per cent were affected with hookworm. The Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, from 1910 to 1915, found 23,403 individuals infested with hookworm out of a total of 53,643 persons examined.[2]

The Survey Commission had one hundred white school children and fifty colored children examined in each county of Alabama, — with the following results:

PER CENT AFFECTED WITH	WHITE	COLORED
1. Diseased tonsils	50	56
2. Decayed teeth	48	40
3. Anemia	29	22
4. Hookworm "Suspects" . . .	26	24
5. Enlarged glands	21	32

The situation is probably no worse and no better in Alabama than in other states except those in which health instruction has been carried on for some time and in which health inspection is general in the schools. There are defects that come naturally and are easily remedied, such as decaying teeth and wax in the ears.

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[1] The registration area includes 44 per cent of the total area and 70.2 per cent of the total population, — including all states that are having 90 per cent or more of all deaths systematically reported in accordance with state laws.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

Defects of vision and hearing, too, are not difficult to identify and usually may be alleviated, if not entirely remedied, by careful treatment.

There is needed, however, a nation-wide health campaign which will carry the knowledge of health conditions to everybody, — in school and out of school. With the results of such a campaign as a basis, the work can be carried on through the schools and reach practically everybody. In a certain Pennsylvania county, the Red Cross organization is spending a portion of the funds remaining from its war expenditures in employing health teachers who instruct the wives of the foreigners in the simplest elements of the care of the health. The employing companies, the county, and the state have not as yet undertaken this greatly needed work, and there is no better way in which the balances in the hands of Red Cross officials can be spent. But the instance is sporadic and local while the need is universal.

The health knowledge to which reference has been made is most valuable, but physical fitness means much more than the mere absence of disease. Health is the bodily condition which results when each organ of the body separately, and all organs of the body coöperatively, fulfill their functions normally and properly. The only dependable factor in securing this desirable result is systematic physical exercise. In this way only can bodily vigor and endurance as well as muscular strength and skill be assured. When this physical exercise is embodied in games, a host of social and moral benefits follow in its train. These exercises and games are not merely diversion or amusement or recreation; — they are the means by which the body comes into its own and by which bodily tone becomes transmuted into mental tone.

When one contemplates the beneficent results that would come to all from comprehensive programs of physical and health education in every community of the country, — the increased economic efficiency, the reduction of pain and suffering, the positive happiness and enjoyment, and the fine feeling of fitness and poise that would replace the present lassitude and lack of self-control, — one cannot reasonably oppose a movement that promises to secure these ends. No beneficent potentate or fairy will do these things for us. We must do them for ourselves. We must unify present scattered efforts, generalize them, organize and extend them to include every public school and every local community. The collective, coöperative action which we put forth in the recent war is the only type of action adequate to such an undertaking.

The Smith-Towner Bill provides for such a collective, coöperative effort. The bill proposes that twenty million dollars annually shall be distributed from the Federal Treasury to the states on the basis of population, and that each state shall raise an amount equal to its allotment to be spent —

"For physical education and instruction in the principles of health and sanitation, and for providing school nurses, school dental clinics, and otherwise promoting physical and mental welfare."

The states are wisely left free to make their own programs for realizing these purposes. Rhode Island is almost entirely urban, — Texas is almost entirely rural. The same plan of organization for physical and health education would not succeed equally well in both states. Each state, however, under the stimulus of national interest and national aid would sincerely and faithfully go to work in an effective way, seeking the best for its own people and thus securing the best for the Nation.

There are several states and many cities that are now doing excellent work in physical and health education. The provisions of the Smith-Towner Bill would not interfere with these present efforts. On the contrary, the added support that it proposes would make them more effective. The adoption of this measure would extend these forms of education to all states and to every community. At the present time the United States Government is doing much to promote health in several of the states. It is finding out facts and giving them publicity; it is advising and urging communities and states to put effective programs of physical and health education into operation. It does not have the prestige or influence which it would have if it were actually cooperating in a financial way with the several states and working with them for the advancement and interest and welfare of the individual, the family, the community, the state, and the nation, as these units are inextricably bound up with physical development and the maintenance of health.

PROMOTION OF PHYSICAL AND HEALTH EDUCATION AND RECREATION

Population of United States in 1910 91,972,266
Allotment under terms of the Smith-Towner Bill per capita . $.2175

	POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES FOR 1910	AMOUNT OF FEDERAL AID UNDER TERMS OF ACT
Continental United States . . .	91,972,266	$20,000,000.00
North Atlantic Division . .	25,868,573	5,626,414.63
North Central Division . . .	29,888,542	6,500,757.88
South Atlantic Division . .	12,194,895	2,652,389.66
South Central Division . . .	17,194,435	3,739,789.61
Western Division	6,825,821	1,484,616.06
Total	91,972,266	20,003,967.84
North Atlantic Division:		
Maine	742,371	161,465.69
New Hampshire	430,572	93,649.41
Vermont	355,956	77,420.43
Massachusetts	3,366,416	732,195.48
Rhode Island	542,610	118,017.68
Connecticut	1,114,756	242,459.43
New York	9,113,614	1,982,211.05
New Jersey	2,537,167	551,833.82
Pennsylvania	7,665,111	1,667,161.64
North Central Division:		
Ohio	4,767,121	1,036,848.82
Indiana	2,700,876	587,440.53
Illinois	5,638,591	1,226,393.54
Michigan	2,810,173	611,212.63
Wisconsin	2,333,860	507,614.55
Minnesota	2,075,708	451,466.49
Iowa	2,224,771	483,887.69
Missouri	3,293,335	716,300.36
North Dakota	577,056	125,509.68
South Dakota	583,888	126,995.64
Nebraska	1,192,214	259,306.54
Kansas	1,690,949	367,781.41

Promotion of Physical and Health Education and Recreation — *Continued*

	Population of the United States for 1910	Amount of Federal Aid under Terms of Act
South Atlantic Division:		
Delaware	202,322	44,005.04
Maryland	1,295,346	281,737.75
District of Columbia	331,069	72,007.51
Virginia	2,061,612	448,400.61
West Virginia	1,221,119	265,593.38
North Carolina	2,206,287	479,867.42
South Carolina	1,515,400	329,599.50
Georgia	2,609,121	567,483.82
Florida	752,619	163,694.63
South Central Division:		
Kentucky	2,289,905	498,054.34
Tennessee	2,184,789	475,191.61
Alabama	2,138,093	465,035.23
Mississippi	1,797,114	390,872.30
Louisiana	1,656,388	360,264.39
Texas	3,896,542	847,497.88
Arkansas	1,574,449	342,442.65
Oklahoma	1,657,155	360,431.21
Western Division:		
Montana	376,053	81,791.52
Wyoming	145,965	31,747.39
Colorado	799,024	173,787.72
New Mexico	327,301	71,187.97
Arizona	204,354	44,446.99
Utah	373,351	81,203.84
Nevada	81,875	17,807.81
Idaho	325,594	70,816.69
Washington	1,141,990	248,382.83
Oregon	672,765	146,326.39
California	2,377,549	517,116.91

The preceding table shows the allotments to the several states, on the basis of population, of twenty million dollars annually. The census of 1920 will show changes in population, but probably not many radical changes in percentages of population. Each allotment is to be matched by the state; hence there will be forty million dollars available for this work. With this sum, so much more can be done than has ever been done before in this field that the physical strength of the Nation could easily be doubled or even trebled within a decade. If the program is left to local initiative or to unaided and unstimulated state action, equivalent results would necessarily be delayed, perhaps for a century.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE WEAKEST LINKS

A. THE RURAL AND VILLAGE SCHOOLS

ILLITERACY, alienism, and physical and health deficiencies have all revealed themselves as national handicaps, due in large part to the failure of state and local education to meet adequately the Nation's needs. If, however, the Nation is at all concerned with finding remedies for these defects, it must go behind superficial conditions and seek fundamental causes. Measures that fail to reach the roots of these evils cannot solve the Nation's problem.

There are two outstanding sources of weakness in American education upon the correction of which the full effectiveness of every more limited program for reform inevitably depends. Although closely related to one another these two sources of weakness must be considered separately, for to remedy them will require two distinct, though still related, programs. The two "weakest links" in the chain of American education are (1) the almost total inadequacy of the rural-school system in every state of the Union, and (2) the low status of teaching as a profession and the reflection of this low status in the inadequacy of the existing agencies for the preparation of teachers.

THE IMPORTANCE AND DIFFICULTIES OF RURAL EDUCATION

The rural-school situation presents, from the point of view of national welfare, probably the most important and certainly the most difficult of all educational problems. The importance of the problem is indicated by the fact that sixty per cent of the next generation of American voters are enrolled in the schools classed as rural by the standards of the Federal Bureau of Education.[1]

Of this substantial majority of prospective American voters enrolled in the rural schools, it is clearly predictable that five sixths, — or at least fifty per cent of all the children of the Nation, — will be limited in their educational opportunities to what these schools are able to provide. No democracy can intelligently disavow its concern in an agency that determines the plane upon which a clear majority of its future citizens are to think and feel and act in solving their collective problems and transacting their collective business. Humble as the rural school may be as a unit, it is far from humble as a type. In the aggregate of its influence upon the Nation, indeed, it transcends in importance the greatest of our universities.

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[1] This is the standard, also, of the Bureau of the Census. A rural community is one of 2500 inhabitants or fewer. The term rural schools as used in the present discussion includes, then, not only one-room and consolidated schools of the open country, but also the schools of the villages and small towns. The situation depicted in the following pages would show itself as even more serious if the schools of open country alone were considered; but it is bad enough as it stands. Generally speaking, too, the schools of the open country and those of the small centers in agricultural districts constitute a homogeneous problem, and may well be considered as a single group.

The difficulty of the rural-school problem is partly the product of external forces and factors and partly due to the inherent character of the rural school. Of the external forces and factors that complicate the situation the two most important are the generally low status of public-school teaching as a calling and the "neighborhood" tradition of educational responsibility. The former will be discussed in Chapters XVIII and XX; the latter, — the sinister influence of extreme localism in education, — will be an important theme of Chapter XIX.

Our present concern, then, is with the inherent difficulties of rural-school teaching. Schools in sparsely settled districts will always be handicapped in competing with schools in thickly settled districts. Either the school unit must be small, thus requiring in a group or system of such units a large number of teachers in proportion to the pupils enrolled; or, if the small units are consolidated in central schools, the expense of transporting pupils must be met. In both cases, then, the cost of education will be high as compared with the cost of providing the same opportunities in a thickly settled district. If to the bare cost of instruction there be added the "overhead" of equally competent administration and supervision, the discrepancies in relative *per capita* cost become even wider. As a result of this inherently greater cost of rural education, only a negligible proportion of school districts in the villages and the open country offer educational facilities equal to those even of the poorest cities.

Not only are the sparsely settled districts thus handicapped, but their situation is rendered even more unfavorable by the fact that their *per capita* wealth is almost invariably lower than that of the urban districts. Not only, therefore, is the cost of rural education greater, but the resources from which school revenues can be drawn are much more meager. Actual figures revealing the striking differences in the taxable wealth behind each child in typical rural and urban districts will be set forth in Chapter XIX.

A third inherent difficulty of rural education lies in the pronounced individualism of the average farmer. His mode of life with its isolation and its emphasis upon independence and self-reliance predisposes him to individualism. He is likely to resent interference from without; consequently the enforcement of compulsory-attendance laws has been practically ignored in the rural districts. Furthermore, he can use his children in the work of the farm and the household at a profit far beyond that which the city resident can gain by similar methods. The temptation to keep children out of school is therefore much stronger; the plea that this practice is justifiable is much more plausible, much harder to prove specious. There are no labor unions to whose self-interest the enforcement of child-labor laws is significant. There are lacking, too, the large and well-appointed school buildings which by their very size and magnificence tend in the cities to impress the people with the importance of education and with the "majesty" of the law which makes education compulsory.

The farmer's individualism also expresses itself in a distaste, not only for paying taxes that would provide reasonably high salaries for teachers, but also for having such salaries paid in any case. Under normal conditions the average farmer's actual cash income is not likely to be large and he does not like to see a young teacher surpass him in earning power. Of course he overlooks the fact that his cash income often measures very fairly his net profits from the gross of which not only his operating expenses but the cost of his own living and the support of his family have been deducted. While this may explain, it does not justify his attitude. The present era of prosperity may, if it persists, alleviate some of the evil effects of this attitude — but there are few signs to-day that the wages of the rural teacher are keeping pace with the increased earnings of the farmer.

A final inherent handicap under which rural education labors as compared with urban education lies in the relatively greater difficulty of gaining adequate results through teaching. In the graded urban schools, the teacher finds it hard enough to adapt the materials of instruction to thirty or forty children of approximately the same age and the same degree of attainment; in the one-room school these thirty or forty children may represent every age-level from five (or even four) to eighteen or nineteen. The city teacher must cover a wide range of subjects, but the range that the rural teacher must cover is far more extensive. In the city, too, the distinctly backward children are now removed from the regular classrooms and taught in special groups by teachers especially prepared for such work; in the country school the moron and the gifted child sit side by side, and the failure of the teacher to do for the former what he does for the latter, — what the latter, indeed, often does for himself, — is frequently a source of unjust but no less depressing criticism; even if this be lacking, the presence of the dull pupils is certain to delay the progress of the class as a whole.

Not only do the city teachers have a decided advantage on the instructional side of their work; their problems of discipline are significantly reduced both by this segregation of the mentally deficient children and, in added measure, by the machinery of supervision. Practically every city elementary school has its supervising principal, — either a man or a mature and experienced woman, — one of whose duties it is to aid the classroom teacher in the solution of disciplinary problems. Closely related to this type of supervision is that which is provided in practically all cities by the staff of special supervisors, — experts in one or another of the school subjects who exercise a more or less thorough oversight of the individual teacher's work. Similar systems of supervision are so rare outside of the cities that the few counties in which supervisory staffs have been created for the rural schools have gained at once a nation-wide reputation.[1] Generally speaking, the rural teacher must struggle with his difficulties in absolute isolation. He lacks not only the help which the supervisor may bring, — he is denied also the inspiration and enthusiasm that come most easily when one has the companionship of fellow-workers.

THE RESULTS OF INADEQUATE RURAL SCHOOLS

(a) *Adult Illiteracy*

What has been the effect of weak rural schools upon the Nation? This question has been definitely answered by the war revelations, although the connection between these acknowledged national weaknesses and the inefficiency of the rural schools has not as yet been recognized by the public — or, indeed, by a significant proportion of the teaching profession itself.

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[1] These counties most frequently constitute the rural areas adjacent to large cities; in consequence, they are easily influenced by the example of the urban schools. Of outstanding reputation in this connection are Baltimore County, Maryland, and Cook County, Illinois.

In the first place, *adult illiteracy in the native-born population is primarily and predominantly a rural phenomenon and its ultimate elimination is almost exclusively a rural-school problem.* The census returns for 1910 show this clearly; the proportion of native-born illiterate persons in the rural population is in no division of the country less than twice the proportion in the urban population, and usually the discrepancy is even greater. This is shown by the following comparisons based on a very striking table of the Census Report.[1]

Section	Per Cent of Illiteracy among Whites Native-born of Native-born Parents		Proportion Rural to Urban
	Urban	Rural	
New England . .	0.5	1.2	2.4 times as great in rural
Middle Atlantic .	0.6	1.9	3.1 times as great in rural
E. North Central	0.9	2.2	2.4 times as great in rural
W. North Central	0.8	2.1	2.6 times as great in rural
South Atlantic .	2.2	9.8	4.4 times as great in rural
E. South Central .	2.4	11.1	4.6 times as great in rural
W. South Central.	1.4	6.8	4.8 times as great in rural
Mountain . . .	0.9	5.1	5.6 times as great in rural
Pacific	0.3	0.6	2.0 times as great in rural

The situation is even more clearly revealed by a comparison of the absolute numbers of adult illiterates in rural and urban communities:

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[1] See Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, p. 249.

	Total Number of Illiterate Persons above the Age of Ten	
	Rural	Urban
Native whites of native parentage	1,247,978	130,906
Native whites of foreign or mixed parentage	94,394	60,994
Foreign-born whites	477,870	1,172,491
Negroes	1,654,700	393,273
Totals	3,654,700	1,757,664

Two thirds of the total adult illiteracy is in the rural communities; but by far the largest proportion of urban illiteracy is in the immigrant population, for the adults of which the public schools are in no sense responsible. The schools must assume responsibility for illiteracy among the native whites, and of the native-white illiterates, 1,342,372 live in rural communities as against 191,900 in urban communities. This is in the ratio of seven to one. The total population of the rural districts as compared with the urban districts is in the ratio of one to nine tenths; *hence, for the native whites, adult illiteracy is six times more prevalent in rural America than in urban America.*

In every section of the country, then, the per cent of native-born illiterates, whether of native-white, foreign-born, or mixed parentage, is substantially higher in the rural districts than in the urban districts.

The following table compares the relative proportions of negro and foreign-born illiterates in the rural and urban districts of different sections of the country:[1]

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[1] Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, 1910, p. 249.

Section	Per Cent of Illiterate Persons Ten Years and Over in Total Population	
	Negroes	Foreign-born whites
New England:		
Rural	16.9	15.3
Urban	7.1	13.7
Middle Atlantic:		
Rural	12.2	20.3
Urban	7.0	14.9
East North Central:		
Rural	15.8	9.6
Urban	9.7	10.2
West North Central:		
Rural	21.0	7.0
Urban	12.3	8.5
South Atlantic:		
Rural	36.1	17.2
Urban	21.4	11.6
East South Central:		
Rural	37.8	10.9
Urban	23.8	9.1
West South Central:		
Rural	37.2	30.7
Urban	20.3	17.9
Mountain:		
Rural	10.6	14.4
Urban	7.0	9.7
Pacific:		
Rural	11.4	11.3
Urban	5.3	6.0
United States:		
Rural	36.1	13.2
Urban	17.6	12.6

The per cent of negro illiterates is higher in the rural districts than in the urban districts in every section, and the relatively high proportions of negro illiteracy in the rural districts of the North and West prove conclusively that even this phase of illiteracy is very far from exclusively a Southern problem.

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The per cent of illiteracy among the foreign-born whites is higher in the rural than in the urban communities in every section except the two that comprise the North Central states, thus proving that "Americanization" is not exclusively an urban problem.

In the United States as a whole, for all groups combined, the per cent of illiteracy in the rural districts is 10.1 as against 5.1, the per cent in the urban districts.

Adult illiteracy is due primarily to inadequate education before the age of ten. For the native-born population, the schools must bear the responsibility both for the condition as it exists and for its correction. *The conclusion is irrefutable that the rural school has failed to reach the rural children in the measure that the safety and progress of the Nation demand.* The rural-school problem is essentially and fundamentally a national problem.

The comparison between "white population native-born of native parentage" and the "white population native-born of foreign and mixed parentage" is most illuminating. Here the Census Report shows that in so far as the prevention of illiteracy is concerned, we have done *more than three times as well with the children of the immigrant than with the children of the native-born.* The explanation is not far to seek: the immigrant parents are found most numerously in the larger cities where the school facilities are fairly good and where compulsory-attendance statutes are usually rigorously enforced; the native-born parents are found most numerously in the smaller towns, the villages, and the open country, where neither of these conditions is fulfilled. Again we have convincing evidence that illiteracy is predominantly a rural problem.[1]

(*b*) "*Limited Literacy*"

The conditions regarding absolute illiteracy which the war brought forcibly to public attention could have been inferred long before the war by any one who took the trouble to study the census findings; but a menace that even those most familiar with the situation did not suspect, — a menace far more significant to the Nation than absolute illiteracy, — was revealed by the war; namely, the vast extent of a "literacy" so limited and so ineffective as to be, from the standpoint of citizenship, practically equivalent to illiteracy itself. As a means of determining what may be called the "intelligence quotient" of the Nation, the Army tests were much more searching than were the questions that the census enumerators asked in 1910. Furthermore, they were inescapable; it was a very simple matter to determine not only whether a soldier could read, but whether he could read a newspaper intelligently, — not only whether he could write his name, but whether he could write an intelligible letter home. It would be impossible to secure such information from the general population, but the draft furnished a thoroughly representative group; whatever was found to characterize the recruits as a group may be safely generalized as typifying the entire male population between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one, — and, in certain respects, the entire adult population.

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[1] The inference gains added force from the following facts: In three sections of the country illiteracy is proportionately greater among native-born whites of foreign or mixed parentage than among native-born whites of native parentage; two of these sections, however, — the West South Central and the Mountain states — are exceptions to the general rule that immigrants live in cities; the immigrant population here is more generally rural. In the third section, — the Pacific states, — the higher per cent of illiteracy among the children of immigrants may be due to the fact that the immigrants are largely Orientals to whom educational advantages in the cities have often been denied.

The Army tests revealed the fact that practically *one man out of every four* (24.9%) was unable to meet the relatively simple test of intelligent reading and intelligible writing. Merely to be able to "spell out" with great labor the headlines of the newspaper is perhaps a slight advance over absolute illiteracy, but the Nation has little to choose between the two, and in either case it has much at stake. Merely to be able to scrawl one's signature is certainly an individual asset as compared with a complete and total ignorance of writing; but this achievement adds but a negligible increment to the individual's value as a citizen. The Army tests, in short, disclosed for the first time the serious limitations of technical "literacy" as an index of educational efficiency.

It is, of course, impossible to say in what measure the rural school is responsible for this high total of limited literacy; but, in so far as the native-born population is concerned, it is fair to assume that the relationship between rural and urban communities in this respect would be about the same as in respect to absolute illiteracy, with the chances in favor of a still greater advantage of the city over the country because of the longer school year, the better enforcement of compulsory-attendance laws, and the much higher proportion of trained teachers in the urban districts.

(c) *Physical Deficiencies*

While the physical and health deficiencies that constitute the third group of serious national handicaps are not so exclusively rural phenomena as is adult native-born illiteracy, it still remains true that the need for educational measures to correct these deficiencies is much more acute in the rural districts than in the cities. The published data regarding the proportion of Army rejections in rural and urban communities are as yet incomplete, but as far as they go they show a slight advantage in favor of the rural districts. This is consistent with the census findings of 1910, for the death rate in communities of 10,000 inhabitants and fewer was then somewhat lower than the death rate in the larger cities. There was, however, significant evidence, even in 1910,[1] that the better health administration of the cities and the better health provisions in the city schools were already operating to reduce these differences by lowering the city death rate; the death rate in the rural districts during the decade, 1900–10, on the other

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[1] It was during the decade, 1900–10, that health administration in cities and especially in city school systems made its greatest advances.

COMPARATIVE DEATH RATES, URBAN AND RURAL.

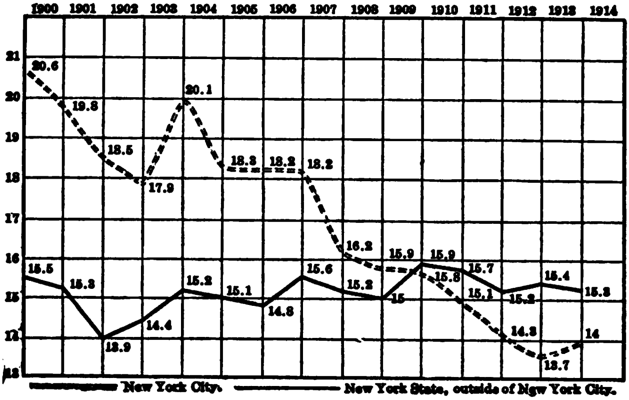

FIGURE 1.

hand, remained practically stationary.[1] The comparison between New York City and the districts of New York State outside of the city is strikingly shown in the above diagram.[2]

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[1] "It is significant that for this considerable proportion of the country [the original registration area], the registration of deaths in which must be considered to be somewhat more complete than for the registration area as a whole, the death rate for the rural districts shows but little, if any, decrease in the years and periods considered [1901–1905, 1906–1910]. Practically the entire reduction of death-rate in this group is due to the lower urban mortality." — Bureau of the Census, *Mortality Statistics*, 1912, p. 12.

[2] From T. D. Wood: *Health Essentials for Rural-School Children.*

If the two types of communities are compared with reference to the health work undertaken in connection with the schools, the contrasts are sharp and clear. Even the smaller cities have made health inspection an

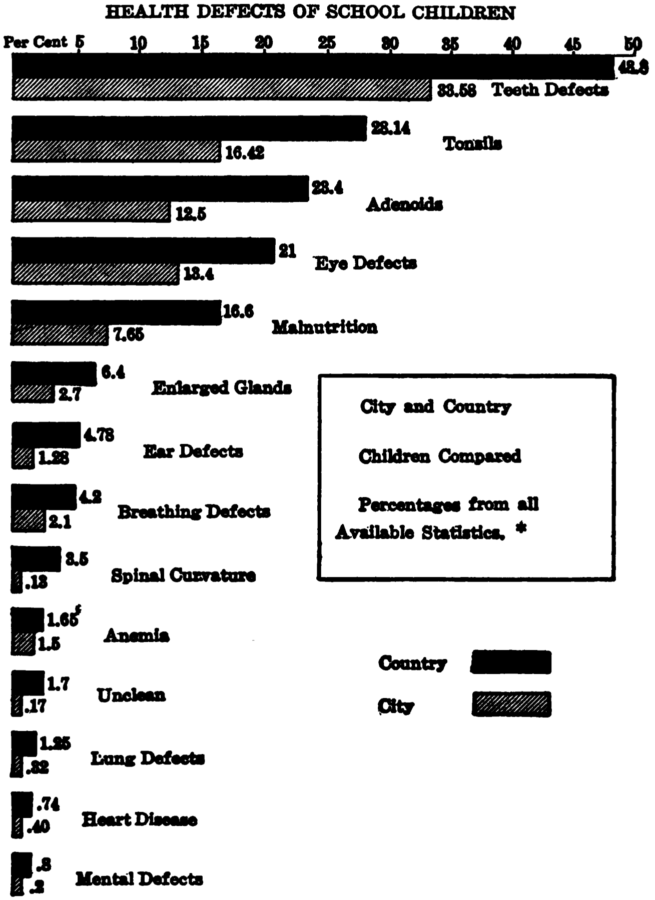

FIGURE 2.

established feature of public-school administration. Very generally they have their school nurses and their school dental clinics. The larger cities have well-organized staffs of physicians who devote their entire time to the schools, and the more progressive city systems have added clinical psychologists to look after the pupils' mental health very much as the physicians look after their physical health. Beyond this, there is the far more sanitary construction and equipment of the school buildings in the cities. Similar work for the rural schools, especially in health inspection, has been barely begun in a very few of the wealthier counties. Its extension in the absence of national stimulation will of necessity be slow and halting, for it represents an expensive phase of school administration. Yet the health of the country child is as much a matter of concern to the Nation as is the health of the city child. The general situation among rural children as compared with city children is shown in the chart[1] (see p. 199), which has been compiled from the best available data.

(*d*) "*Native-born Alienism*"

It was pointed out above that adult illiteracy among the foreign-born is predominantly more a rural problem than an urban problem except in the North Central states. The reduction of immigrant illiteracy, of course, is only one phase of the larger problem of Americanization. To understand, speak, read, and write the English language is the first essential, but from the Nation's point of view these arts are but means to an end. The all-important end is that the immigrant and his children shall know and appreciate American ideals and standards, and be able to participate intelligently in the conduct of national affairs. The handicap of alienism during the earlier stages of the war was not confined by any means to the alien groups in the cities. For the first time the average American citizen became aware that "alien islands" existed in various parts of the country and that in the rural districts these unassimilated groups were particularly troublesome. In some cases, indeed, they could not be classed as immigrant groups, for they were removed two, three, or even four generations from the original settlers, — and yet they formed, to all intents and purposes, thoroughly alien communities. Not only did the people speak an alien tongue, but the schools — sometimes public schools supported in part by general state taxation — were conducted in a foreign language.

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[1] Taken from T. D. Wood's pamphlet above referred to.

The problem of Americanization, then, is not exclusively a problem of "immigrant" education. Upon the rural school must rest the responsibility of "Americanizing" second, third, and even fourth generations of original European stock, representing families and sometimes entire communities that have not as yet acquired the first essentials of American citizenship, although the franchise has been freely granted them.

(*e*) *The Low Average Length of Schooling*

With all these shortcomings of the rural school in mind, it is easy to appreciate their significance and meaning nationally when it is remembered that 53.6 per cent of the total population of this country is resident in rural communities. These shortcomings have a still further meaning when we remember the fact that 58.4 per cent of the total population from six to twenty years of age inclusive lives in rural communities.[1] The greatest significance of these shortcomings of the rural school, however, is to be found in the figures showing enrollment by grades in the public schools. For convenience this is shown in tabular form below.[2]

	% Enrolled in First Four Grades	% Enrolled in Second Four Grades
North Atlantic	58.51	41.49
North Central	60.60	39.40
South Atlantic	75.72	24.28
South Central	73.95	26.05
Western Division	62.55	37.45
United States	65.48	34.52

The preceding table should be corrected by keeping in mind that the population is continually increasing; this means that the enrollment in the first four grades will be relatively larger than in the second four grades of the public school; but even when this allowance is made it is evident that there is a marked falling off in the second four grades. The relation of this decrease in the per cent enrolled in the second four grades is closely connected with the per cent living in urban and rural communities in the different divisions. The following tabular statement shows the per cent resident in urban and rural communities in the different divisions of the United States.

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[1] U. S. Com. of Edn. Report, 1917, Vol. 2, p. 37.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

	URBAN	RURAL
North Atlantic	74.2	25.8[1]
North Central	45.2	54.8
South Atlantic	25.4	74.6
South Central	20.6	79.4
Western	48.8	51.2

When this table is interpreted in connection with the table just preceding it, it is evident that where there is a high proportion of the total population in rural communities, a relatively low proportion of children are enrolled in the second four grades of the public school. This conclusion makes it evident that the schooling of children in urban communities is distinctly longer than the schooling of those in rural communities.

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[1] The Census Abstract, 1910, p. 54, points out that the urban per cent for New England is too high because it includes all towns with 2500 or more population. In some cases in New England, the town with 2500 people is practically nothing but open country and very small villages.

for the nation that has set the type and pattern for a democratic world is that which the mental and physical upbuilding of all of the people alone can bring into being. This is the best way to provide for the common defense. *This means first of all an immediate and nation-wide reform of rural education.*

Even if the rural schools did not merit attention from Congress on the ground of the "common defense," they could claim consideration upon the basis of each and every one of the remaining clauses in the great Preamble. What can do so much to "form a more perfect union" as to insure such bases of social solidarity, such conditions of clear collective thinking and sound collective judgment, as only a system of universal education can provide? What would better "promote the general welfare" than trained intelligence and sound health on a thoroughly national basis? What would more clearly "insure domestic tranquillity," so sadly needed in these days of social and economic unrest, than the provision of a pervasive common culture, — the only sure and dependable basis of mutual understanding? What, other than this, would more certainly "establish justice," — not only justice in the administration of the law, but justice in the determination and direction of that overwhelming power of public opinion upon which even the law itself depends for its effectiveness? What, that is less comprehensive, can "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity"? For is not the security of these blessings dependent first of all upon an appreciation of what liberty means, and how may such an appreciation be developed upon a nation-wide scale except through an educational system that touches and quickens every child in the land, — an educational system, strong, vigorous, and efficient, *not only in spots*, not only in this state or that county or the other city, but wherever American children are growing into mature and responsible American citizens?

CHAPTER XIX

The Weakest Links

B. THE IMMATURE AND UNTRAINED TEACHER

The soul and substance of every school is the teacher. In the last analysis, all buildings, apparatus, and school revenues are purely material things, — helps, aids, means to an end. The teacher is the personal and human agency that gives life and significance to the work that the school sets out to accomplish. The success of the school and of the school system is measured by the amount of real educative activity that goes on in the minds of the pupils, and it is the personal, human factor that determines this. In so far as the state or the Nation depends for stability and progress upon its schools, it depends upon the teachers.

Teaching is an art. Indeed, good teaching is a fine art, — which is to say again that the personal and human factors constitute its soul and substance. But, like other fine arts, it has a technique, and this technique can be mastered by competent persons under the proper conditions. Certain of these conditions are of outstanding importance — the maturity of mind that comes only with age and experience; the knowledge that comes only by study; the character that comes only with reflection, responsibility, and acts of intelligent choice; and the insight, resourcefulness, and good sense that come in part from native endowment and in part from the discipline of training and experience. The old saw — "Teachers are born, not made" — means that some people possess these fundamental qualifications without a definite and specific course of preparation, — some people have a "knack" of teaching. It is just as true, perhaps, as the statement that musicians are born and not made; but while a person may be born with every physical and mental quality that goes to make up musical talent, no person is "born" an accomplished musician. And by the same token, no person is "born" an accomplished teacher.

Preparation for teaching should rest upon the largest possible equipment of native talent for teaching, but to put persons even well qualified by native endowment into the actual work of teaching without preparation is simply to give them their preparation at the expense of the children whom they teach, — or, as is more frequently the case, to leave them permanently on the plane of amateurish bungling.

In Chapter XVIII it was pointed out that the solution of the problems presented by illiteracy, limited literacy, and physical and health deficiencies could be effected only through a solution of the rural-school problem. But in its turn, the rural-school problem cannot be solved until the teacher problem has been solved. We come, then, in the present chapter to the most fundamental source of weakness in American public education.

THE RURAL-SCHOOL TEACHER

A clear conception of rural-school deficiencies can be gained only by understanding the limitations of the rural-school teacher. There are required for this branch of the public-school service approximately three hundred thousand teachers. These teachers as a group constitute by far the youngest, the most inexperienced, and the least well-educated portion of the total teaching population. Of the three hundred thousand, more than half would be debarred from voting because of their youth, and yet to them the public nonchalantly delegates a responsibility in comparison with which the individual franchise is a mere bagatelle — for each of them is a potential factor in determining the votes of from fifteen to forty citizens in embryo.

These three hundred thousand rural and village teachers, as a group, have had for their responsible duties no training that deserves the name. Some of them are products of neighboring high schools, and in several states an effort is made to give a little instruction in the high schools that will make the work of a beginner a little less bungling. In no state, however, has this been looked upon as anything more than a temporary and most unsatisfactory expedient, — and the majority of rural-school teachers lack even this modicum of training. A large proportion of them have not completed a high-school course. Indeed, it is estimated that no fewer than a million children now enrolled in the rural schools are under teachers who have had no more than eighth-grade education themselves, — and many even less than that.

The rural-school teachers are transient in the calling. The Federal Commissioner of Education estimated the number of recruits needed for this service in a single year (1918–19) as 130,000, — an annual "turn-over" of more than one in three. In one of the most prosperous of the Middle Western states, the Bureau of Education reports the average term of service of the rural-school teacher to be not more than two years.

It has already been pointed out that the ultimate elimination of illiteracy and the reduction of limited literacy depend upon the reform of rural education. It should now be clear that the first step in this reform should be to insure for the rural schools a relatively permanent and stable body of teachers, thoroughly trained to undertake the responsible duties which these isolated posts impose. *Into these schools should go the best talent that the calling can attract.* Obviously, the only way to attain this end is to advance the rewards and raise the standards of the rural-school service. The situation could be entirely transformed in a few years and at a paltry cost, — a cost paltry in comparison with what the Nation would gain. Three hundred thousand well-selected, well-trained, and permanent teachers in the rural and village schools could undoubtedly, as a group, do vastly more for the Nation than an equal number of men and women, as well selected and as well trained, could do in any other form of public or social service, for they could profoundly influence our national life for the greatest good at the very root and source of whatever elements of strength it may possess.

THE PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL SERVICE

The situation in the rural and village schools throws its dark shadow over every type of educational work. Urban schools are, in many ways, vastly better off, and yet the fact that the rural and village teachers, constituting nearly one half of the teaching population, are immature, transient, and untrained, operates to depress standards throughout the entire field. Most of the larger cities, for example, maintain local training schools for elementary teachers, and could easily require reasonably high standards of preparation. With a few notable exceptions they demand but one or two years of professional training after the candidate has completed a high-school course. It is generally agreed that two years represent the lowest minimum that should be tolerated; yet even our largest and richest cities are content with this. Indeed, of all our public-school teachers, a most conservative estimate places the proportion that have met this standard at one in five. In England the proportion meeting a comparable standard is four in six, and in many of the countries of continental Europe the proportion is still higher. In so far as our policies of teacher-preparation are concerned, we are surpassed by some of our South American neighbors. A bulletin of the Federal Bureau of Education[1] authoritatively asserts that the United States gives less attention to the preparation of public-school teachers than does any other civilized nation.

Why do we hold this low station in respect to a public business which, theoretically, overtops all others in its significance to the welfare and progress of democratic institutions? Surely the cause is not to be found in our poverty, nor is it to be found in a failure to recognize abstractly the importance of public education. *It lies primarily in the tradition that the actual work of classroom teaching is not a serious and permanent occupation.*

That teaching is at best only a transitory calling for either men or women has become, indeed, a fixed tradition. Social and economic forces have been favorable to its cumulative growth. The supply of these temporary teachers until recently has overtopped the demand; hence wages could be kept low. The girls usually lived with their parents, and their earnings were often more in the nature of pin money than of a living and saving wage. Public education, indeed, has been far from burdensome to the taxpayer. The entire schooling of the average adult native-born citizen has cost the public less than one hundred and fifty dollars — an amount comparable perhaps with that which the village grocer invests in his daughter's piano lessons.

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[1] Bulletin No. 12, 1916.

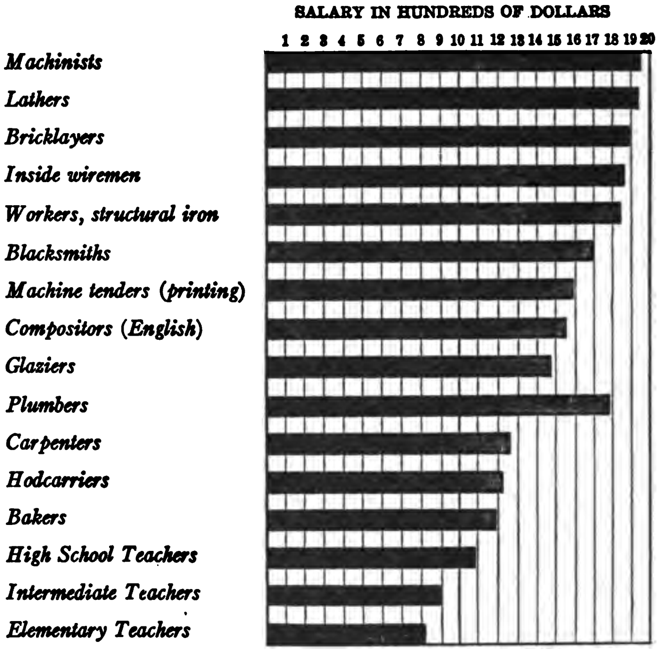

FIGURE 3. — Chart showing comparison of teachers' salaries in five Middle Western states with the union scale of wages for certain occupations in the same section as indicated by the average of the wages paid in Chicago and Cleveland. From E. S. Evenden's *Teachers' Salaries and Salary Schedules*.

Nor is a low wage scale the only sorry result of the tradition that teaching is not a serious business. Standards of preparation have been kept low. In general, the requirements for a teacher's license in any community have been those that the average girl graduating from the local school could easily meet. To advance requirements beyond this point would mean that the local girls must go elsewhere for preparation, and this would automatically place appointments in the local schools beyond the reach of the larger part of the otherwise available "home talent." The typical public-school teacher comes from a family of four or five children, and from a family that "enjoys" a very moderate income. A study made in 1911 estimated the earnings of the average family from which elementary teachers are drawn at $800 a year.[1] Any attempt to raise standards for the teacher's license to the point where adequate preparation would be required is met at once by "pressure" from the numerous groups of families that have come to look upon teaching appointments in the local schools as the vested right of their daughters.

Under these conditions, too, it is not surprising that the material rewards of public-school service, meager as they are, have acquired the earmarks of a public gratuity doled out to the deserving poor, — a point of view that finds a tragic expression in the rulings of most boards of education that a woman teacher's tenure ends automatically with her marriage, — unless, as some boards have charitably decreed, her husband is unable to support her![1]

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[1] L. D. Coffman's *Social Composition of the Teaching Population.*

It is small wonder, then, that public-school service has become progressively less and less attractive to the type of young manhood and young womanhood that the Nation needs for this important work. Recent developments have intensified the situation, and have created throughout the country a real crisis. In the early days, conditions were at least tolerable. Teaching was a stop-gap occupation, it is true, but many of the strongest and most promising young men were drawn into the schools for a brief period, and some of these, finding the work to their liking, remained even in the face of meager rewards and inadequate recognitions. The girls, too, who entered the schools temporarily were usually of a fine type, coming from homes that represented the best ideals and traditions of American life.

To-day all this is changed. Almost no men become classroom teachers in the urban elementary schools; they are rapidly deserting the rural schools; and those seeking even temporary appointments in the high schools are diminishing in number and apparently deteriorating in quality. Industrial and commercial enterprise has been quick to see that it pays to catch ability while it is young and to pay generously for its training. Indeed, it is intelligent enough to recognize ability in those no longer young. A man who had served for thirteen years as a teacher, advancing in that time from the district schools to a high-school principalship, recently enrolled at a university to prepare for additional responsibilities in public-school work. Needing funds to meet the increased cost of living, he applied for part-time work in a metropolitan bank. A week later he withdrew from the university, giving as a reason the fact that his work at the bank would be full-time. He was asked by one of his instructors what he knew about banking. "Absolutely nothing," he replied. "I am learning. The bank will pay me while it is training me more than I have ever received as a teacher. The future possibilities are vastly more attractive than anything that public education can promise. To advance in the educational field I must prepare further at my own expense. And," he added, "I have a family."

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[1] During the war the Boston School Committee permitted certain former teachers, who had married and whose husbands were then in the Army or the Navy, to return to the classrooms. But it explicitly provided that officers' wives should not have this privilege *on the ground that an officer's pay was ample for the support of his wife.*

This competition for ability, at first limited to young men, is now rapidly extending to young women. In the cities, the gap between graduation and marriage may now be bridged much more rapidly, much more easily, and much more pleasantly through any one of a score of other occupations than through teaching. Even the girls in the towns and villages who, a few years ago, would have sought appointments in the neighboring rural schools now find more lucrative and attractive opportunities in business and industry. In practically every state there is to-day an acute shortage of teachers for the rural schools, — and this in spite of the fact that wages have been advanced while the standards of certification have been lowered by the wholesale issuing of "emergency" licenses.

The war, of course, is responsible for the desperateness of the present situation, but the social and economic conditions which have been aggravated by the war were already in evidence long before the war began and sooner or later would have produced the same results. For a decade, according to the testimony of those in closest touch with the situation, the type of recruit drawn into the public-school service has been steadily deteriorating. One normal-school principal, for example, reports that the students now entering his school represent in their scholastic ability the lowest tenth of the high-school graduates of his district; his school formerly attracted students of a superior quality. An investigation in a typical Mid-Western state revealed the fact that, in personality and often in scholarship, the high-school graduates entering the normal schools to prepare for teaching are distinctly inferior to graduates destined for other occupations. In the Eastern states, particularly, the students in the city training schools for teachers represent, in ever-increasing proportions, the more recently arrived contingents of the immigrant population, — potentially worthy material, no doubt, but necessarily lacking in American traditions and ideals, and sometimes reflecting manners and standards that certainly should not be engrafted upon the next generation of American citizens. The bearing of this condition upon the problem of "Americanization" is obvious.

Even if the quality of the teaching population did not reveal these symptoms of deterioration, the facts regarding the youth, inexperience, and inadequate training of public-school teachers as a group should, in all conscience, be sufficiently disquieting. These facts are not generally known because very few people are interested in public education from a national point of view, and it is only when one takes this point of view that the seriousness of the situation becomes fully apparent.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL SERVICE

To evaluate the educational strength of the Nation, one must first of all strive to build up a fairly adequate mental picture of the "teaching population." This is no easy task, for more than 600,000 teachers are required for the public-school service. The characteristics of one large element in this heterogeneous group — the teachers of the rural and village schools — have already been referred to; it is now necessary to describe the teaching population as a whole.

Imagine these 600,000 teachers to be extended in a long line. Allowing three feet of space for each individual, this line will extend unbroken for over three hundred miles. By rearranging the line for different qualifications or characteristics, it will be possible to gain a somewhat concrete picture of the men and women who are intrusted with the Nation's most important work.

Let the first arrangement follow the order of age or maturity. The youngest teacher is at one end of the line, the oldest teacher at the other end; the remaining teachers are arranged in the order of their age. Starting with the youngest teacher and journeying along the line, one will traverse one fourth of the entire distance before reaching a teacher who has passed the age of twenty-one. Roughly speaking, one fourth of all of the Nation's children are receiving their education at the hands of these immature teachers. This, however, does not tell the whole story, for one will have passed in all likelihood more than 100,000 teachers before reaching the first of the twenty-year-old group, while tens of thousands of those first encountered are only sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen years old.

Let the line form again on the basis of educational equipment as shown by the length of time that these teachers have themselves attended school. Now the journey along the line will take one past at least 30,000 teachers before one reaches the first individual who has had any education whatsoever *beyond the eighth grade of the common school.* In terms of the pupils taught there are nearly one million of the Nation's children, — an army half as large as that which was sent to France to save civilization, — whose teachers are limited to this slender educational equipment. Continuing along the line, about 150,000 teachers would be passed before reaching the first individual whose total education had amounted to more than two years of high-school work, and 480,000, — four fifths of the entire group, — would be left behind before one reached the first individual who had met the standard of preparation recognized in all civilized countries as constituting the barest minimum for elementary teaching — two years of training after high-school graduation, or six years of education in all beyond the eighth grade.

Forming the line again on the basis of experience in teaching (which is obviously related to the maturity of the teacher), one would pass 150,000 teachers before reaching the first individual who had taught more than two years, while the middle of the line would be reached before one could greet the first "experienced" teacher — one who had taught at least four years. One half of the Nation's children, then, are being taught by teachers who have not served sufficiently long to let the discipline of experience compensate in any marked degree for the deficiencies in their initial training.[1]

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[1] These comparisons are derived from very careful estimates which, in turn, are based upon the most trustworthy available investigations. No complete census of the teaching population has ever been made, but fairly complete data have been collected for different states, and one

This remarkable result has been achieved under the neighborhood and state conceptions of educational responsibility. In so far as we have been able to learn, it is a record of educational weakness that is unsurpassed by any other civilized nation. The poorest democracy might fittingly blush with collective shame at such a showing. Will the richest and proudest of all the democracies remain smug and complacent?

THE SITUATION IN TYPICAL STATES

The types and qualifications of public-school teachers vary widely among the different states, — but the variations represent only different degrees of intolerableness; in no single state does the teaching population represent as a whole the standards that are everywhere accepted as the lowest possible within the limits of a decent regard for the rights and needs of children and the welfare of the social group.

In the report of a recent *Educational Survey of Alabama*,[1] the qualifications of teachers in different counties are set forth with clearness:

> In Escambia County,[2] out of 2360 persons between the ages of ten and twenty, twelve and one half per cent of the total population were found to be illiterate, although nearly seven tenths of

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important study of the teachers of the nation as a whole, based upon "random samplings" (Coffman's *The Social Composition of the Teaching Population*, New York, 1911), is very generally confirmed by the results of the more nearly complete, but also more restricted, investigations.

[1] Issued by the Bureau of Education as Bulletin, 1919, No. 41.

[2] See pp. 156–162 for details.

the population is white. Of the one hundred twenty-four teachers in the county, only one third (forty-one) had had any education whatsoever beyond the elementary school. In thirteen schools visited by the examiners, the pupils present constituted just two thirds of the enrollment.

In Bullock County, there are 5500 whites out of a total population of 30,196. Twenty-three per cent of the whites between ten and twenty are illiterates. In 1910, thirty-eight per cent of the males of voting age were illiterate. "About 2000 children actually of school age are not being reached by the public schools even in the limited degree necessary to overcome absolute illiteracy." There is no county tax for school purposes. "With the exception of Union Springs, the only town of over 2000 inhabitants, the people depend entirely on state funds, dog taxes, and poll taxes to educate their children." Schools are "supplemented both in length of term and teachers' salaries by subscriptions from the community."

In Pickens County, 42 teachers out of a total of 85 "have had no schooling beyond the elementary grades or only a year or two of high school work." [1]

"In Montgomery County, 33 of the 69 rural schools are taught in schoolhouses, and 36 are taught in churches." In Dallas County, half of the negro schools are taught in churches (p. 181). Only sixty per cent of the negro population between seven and twenty-one is enrolled in schools (p. 185). Taking the state as a whole, the enrollment per teacher is abnormally large, especially in the negro schools (p. 186).

	Pupils per Teacher	
	White	Negro
Rural	42	71.3
City	39.2	63.8
State	41.5	70

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[1] Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1919, No. 41.

The Alabama need is summed up as follows:

"The most urgent need of the colored schools of Alabama is trained teachers. The supply now depends almost entirely upon the secondary schools, most of which are private institutions. . . . The pupils in the graduating classes of all the schools offering teacher-training subjects in 1915 numbered only 270, an annual output obviously inadequate to meet the need for teachers in a state with over 900,000 colored people and 2350 colored public-school teachers, of whom seventy per cent are holding only third grade certificates."[1]

The facts regarding the academic and professional qualifications of 3648 rural and village teachers of Alabama are as follows:

Sixteen per cent have completed only the elementary school course.[2]

Ten per cent have had only one year of high-school attendance, seventeen per cent have had two years, eighteen per cent three years, and thirty-eight per cent four years. Nearly two thirds (63.6%) have had no professional training, and only about eight per cent have actually graduated from teacher-training institutions.[3]

These citations of fact are conclusive proof that Alabama needs a form of stimulation and aid that will put her on the right road in education, — that will induce and enable her to become educationally a worthy part of the United States of America. It is not a question of coercion; there could be no coercion and even if there could be, it would be beside the point. Alabama would welcome a way out of her difficulty, and it is to the highest interest of the Nation to prepare the way; stimulation and inducement will do the work.

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[1] U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin 1916, No. 39.

[2] It should be remembered that the elementary school in the South covers usually only seven years as against eight years in other parts of the country.

[3] U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin 1919, No. 41, p. 349.

It may be urged that the illustration just cited is exceptional. A study of the table of facts regarding teachers (see page 291) will prove that the illustration represents clearly and fairly the general situation in the Southern states. But it is not merely a Southern problem and a Southern condition that we are discussing.

The Graduate School of Education of the University of Nebraska recently made a survey "to ascertain the exact status of the rural teachers of the state in regard to their academic and professional preparation; their teaching experience and length of service; their sex, age, and nationality; and such contributory factors in teaching efficiency as salary, living conditions, and the like." The results are published by the Bureau of Education as Bulletin 1919, No. 20. Commissioner Claxton says: "The survey is, in fact, a study of the preparation and efficiency of rural-school teachers, which may be considered typical of similar studies which might be made in other states."

Twenty-eight hundred forty teachers replied to the question as to secondary education. Forty-four per cent had not graduated from a high school. Only four per cent had had more than thirty-six months in high school.

Twenty-one hundred seven teachers replied to the question regarding education beyond the high school. Forty-two per cent of them had no education beyond the high school; twenty-six per cent had one summer term at a normal school; seventeen per cent had not graduated from a normal school; eleven per cent had spent one summer term or more at college. There were *four normal-school graduates in the 2107 teachers reporting.* The teachers who failed to answer this question were probably without high-school preparation. In other words, while 102 out of 2640 admitted they had never attended high school, it is probable that the 37 who did not reply belonged to the same group. If so, then 139 out of 2874, or four and nine tenths per cent, had never attended high school at all.[1] The average number of months taught by these teachers (except in the third Congressional district) was seven and two tenths. Thirty-three per cent of the teachers were "beginners." Sixty-seven per cent had to live in unheated rooms. The median monthly wage was $47.69. Fifty per cent of the teachers were not over twenty years of age, and eighty-eight per cent were not over twenty-five years of age. Only twelve per cent had the maturity of mind and the insight into life that come with twenty-five or more years of life.[2]

In 1914, Mr. A. N. Farmer made a study of the academic and professional training of teachers in the public schools of Wisconsin, for the year 1913–14. This study was made in two parts, — the first excluding the one-room rural schools, and the second dealing particularly with one-room rural schools.

Excluding the one-room rural-school teachers, there were 9273 public-school teachers. The net total of normal-school, college, and university graduates was 6122. That is, sixty-eight per cent of the public-school teachers in all schools, except the one-room rural schools, were normal-school, college, or university graduates, while thirty-two per cent of these town and city teachers did not have qualifications equal to this standard.[1]

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[1] See pp. 30–31 of U. S. Bureau Bulletin 1919, No. 20.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 40, 48, 53.

In the one-room rural schools there were 6639 teachers. Of these, 2820, or forty-two per cent, had had four years or the equivalent in high schools, 1681 had had a two-year course beyond the elementary school in normal school or county training school, and an additional 268 had had two years in high school. In one-room schools there were, therefore, 1749 teachers, or twenty-six per cent of the total, with only two years of high-school work or its equivalent. The 22 college graduates and 119 normal-school graduates constitute but a trifle over *two per cent* of the teaching population in these schools. If we grow generous and assume some magical influence developing from casual (and usually very brief) attendance at normal school or college or county training school, the total thus reached is 3446, or a little more than fifty per cent of the entire number.[2]

If we combine the two sets of facts already given, we find that Wisconsin employed in 1913–14 a total of 15,912 teachers in the public schools. Of this number, 6233, or almost forty per cent, were normal-school or college graduates. An additional 1681, or ten per cent, had had some specific preparation for teaching by the completion of a course in normal school or county training school. Still another group of 2671, or seventeen per cent, had completed a high-school course. The remaining thirty-three per cent had had less academic preparation than high school graduation implies and practically no specific preparation for teaching.

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[1] *Conditions and Needs of Wisconsin's Normal Schools*, by A. N. Farmer, p. 564 *a*. Issued by the Wisconsin State Board of Public Affairs, December, 1914.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 574–575.

One other illustration may fittingly close the matter under consideration.

There were in Pennsylvania, for the year ending July 3, 1917, a total of 44,144 teachers in the public schools.[1] Under the jurisdiction of county superintendents, 6643 persons held only the lowest grade of certificate that can be issued, *i.e.* the "provisional" certificate; under the district (or city) superintendents, 988 teachers also held only the provisional certificate. The total of provisionally certificated teachers was 7631, or over ***seventeen per cent*** of the entire teaching force of the state.[2] Under county superintendents there were 3561 without previous experience in teaching, and under district superintendents 945 were similarly "beginners" in the work. This gives a total of 4506, or ten per cent of the teaching force in 1916–17, who were without previous experience in teaching.[3]

The report quoted enables us to make an additional analysis, the data being put into tabular form below.[4]

Teachers who Hold Under	Co. Supts.	District Supts.
1. Permanent State Certificates .	806	3,283
2. Normal School Dip. and Cert.	7,822	4,448
3. Provisional College Certificates	679	553
4. Permanent College Certificates	709	943
Totals	10,016	9,227
Total		19,243 out of 44,144

The total of the fairly well prepared teachers in Pennsylvania, then, — 19,243, — is only a fraction over forty-three per cent of the entire number of teachers employed in the state. It is also worthy of remark that the normal schools have furnished almost two thirds of this group.

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[1] Report of Supt. of Public Instruction, Pennsylvania, 1917, p. 651.

[2] See *Ibid.*, pp. 668–669, and 676–677.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, for the detailed figures.

RESULTS OF THE LOW STATUS OF TEACHING

(*A*) *The Present Shortage of Teachers*

The popular conception of public-school teaching as a casual and temporary occupation has brought forth its natural fruit in the acute shortage of teachers that constitutes to-day one of the most serious of the crises which the Nation is facing. That the war itself should have caused a shortage was to be expected, but the war, as has been suggested, only brought more quickly to a head the boil on the body politic that had long been festering. The shortage has not only continued unabated since the Armistice, — it has grown progressively more acute. There is no reason to believe that the *status quo* can be restored unless a prolonged period of industrial and economic depression supervenes — *and it is scarcely comforting to think that the richest and strongest of the world's democracies must wait for hard times to make tolerable the conditions that surround its most important public service.*

The seriousness of the shortage at the opening of the school year, 1919–20, was revealed by investigations undertaken by the headquarters staff of the National Education Association.[1] Later in the year, the Bureau of Education issued a report in which the shortage was shown to be below the earlier estimates, but scarcely less alarming.

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[1] See report by H. S. Magill in N. E. A. Bulletin, November, 1919, pp. 15–16.

There were approximately 18,000 classrooms for which teachers could not be found. Assuming an average of twenty-five pupils to the teacher, — a conservative estimate, — *there have been this year 450,000 boys and girls to whom school privileges were denied.* This estimate is possibly excessive, because in some cases, pupils are sent to neighboring schools, while in other cases teachers remaining in the service are given additional classes. In either event, there is a deleterious effect upon educational efficiency; and in any case, the actual number of pupils who are out of school is sufficiently large to be alarming.

Approximately 42,000 teachers were classified as "below standard," — that is, these teachers have been unable to meet the very modest requirements for the lowest grade of teachers' license, but because of the impossibility of securing qualified persons, they have been granted "emergency" or "provisional" licenses. Again counting twenty-five pupils to each teacher, it is clear that *no fewer than 1,000,000 boys and girls are being "taught" by these low-grade teachers.* How low the grade may fall is indicated by the reports of county superintendents that some of the teachers to whom they have been forced to issue emergency licenses are practically illiterate!

There is this year a falling off in the enrollment of state normal schools and other training schools for teachers varying from one half to one third of the pre-war figures. The colleges, too, report a decided falling off of enrollments in teacher-training courses, although the total college enrollment is apparently larger than ever before. These facts mean that the *supply of trained teachers for at least three or four years to come will be even more restricted than it has been in the past.* This particular phase of the problem will be further discussed in a later section of the present chapter and in Chapter XXI.

(*B*) *The "Factory Plan" of School Administration*

A second lamentable result of the public attitude toward teaching has been the development of a type of organization necessary, perhaps, to secure passable results from a temporary and ill-trained teaching staff, but fundamentally inconsistent with the fine art of teaching. There has been a heavy emphasis upon programs and courses of study prepared in central offices often far removed, both in space and in spirit, from the classrooms. The textbook has acquired an importance in American schools that far transcends its significance in the schools of other countries. Even in the larger cities, where the teachers are much better prepared than in the village and open-country schools, the failure to recognize the actual work of teaching as constituting a worthy career has given rise to a machinery of administration and supervision, the intricate workings of which often hide from both teacher and administrator the purpose that the organization should fulfill.

The handicaps to educational efficiency and progress which these conditions involve are serious in the extreme. The spirit and attitude of the individual teacher has tended to become more and more that of the artisan, less and less that of the artist. The evils of the "factory" system in industry are all too clearly reproduced in the institution that should be as far removed from factory methods as possible. Individual initiative is almost certain to be rated at a discount when plans and specifications are always handed down from above, and when one's duty is simply to carry out orders. It is small wonder that a policy of this sort in school administration curtails ambition and represses enthusiasm.

The seriousness of the situation is not limited, however, to the formal, lifeless, spiritless teaching that such a system is likely to produce. Upon the teacher himself and especially upon his attitude toward the administrative officers, the effect is often most serious. Normally, every element inherent in schoolcraft sensitizes the teacher to the responsibilities that the work involves. He or she is not only willing but anxious to do good work. The service itself stimulates the spirit of consecration. "Overtime" is nothing; all of one's time and all of one's energies are at the disposal of one's pupils. This is the natural condition — the condition that may even throw its halo over the lame and halting efforts of the young and untrained girl-teacher in the isolated rural school, endowing her crude work with that spirit of devoted service without which the most polished technique is barren and empty. Enter into this situation the foreman, the stereotyped specifications, the time clock to be punched — and the magic spell is broken. The workshop where the artist loved to toil has become the factory which he loathes.

What this condition has led to in certain communities is sufficiently serious to justify grave concern over the possibilities that may be realized on a larger scale. With school administrators and classroom teachers in a state either of actual opposition or of armed neutrality, there can be no real educational progress. Beyond this, however, there is, from the point of view of national welfare, a danger that cannot be overlooked. A group of teachers who, with or without reason, have developed an aggressive class-consciousness and adopted a militant class-attitude cannot fail to indoctrinate their pupils with their own bitterness and resentment. The unhappy — sometimes tragic — effect upon children of constant quarrels and bickerings between parents has been recognized by authorities in mental hygiene. A quite analogous danger arises in the school in which the teachers and the school authorities are at swords' points. To permit in our school system a condition to develop in which such opposition may easily result in a permanent cleavage between two groups that should work in absolute harmony is to invite something more than school inefficiency. On a large scale, indeed, such a condition can spell nothing less than national disaster.

The way out of this difficulty is to recognize the teacher who has served his or her apprenticeship successfully as something more than an artisan — to give him or her recognitions, responsibilities, and privileges that are consistent with the significance of the service. One method that has much to commend it is to delegate to the teachers as a group, or to representative councils of the teachers, definite responsibilities that are similar to those usually intrusted to college and university faculties. These would involve the right especially to propose educational policies, and the right to be heard when changes in educational policy which have been proposed by others are under discussion. Recognition of this sort would do vastly more than merely mollify a group of malcontents. It would bring to the service of the school authorities and the public the large fund of first-hand experience in dealing with educational problems which classroom teachers alone possess. It would mean that such matters as changes in courses of study, the introduction of new methods and new textbooks, and the standards of promotion and gradation could not be decided without having been submitted to the consideration of the teachers themselves. That the teachers should have the only or the final voice in determining educational policies is not at all proposed in such a plan. The control of public schools must rest in the last analysis with the people themselves, acting through their representatives, — the boards of education. It is clear, however, that proposals involving professional issues should either come from the professional workers or be passed upon by these workers before being finally adopted or rejected by the representatives of the people.

There is a distinct need, too, for a much more comprehensive participation by classroom teachers in the councils of the profession itself. The state teachers' associations are rapidly becoming delegate bodies, representing local and sectional organizations of teachers, and the National Education Association is now planning a reorganization on a representative basis, with the state, sectional, and local associations as constituent units.

This means that the teachers as a group will inevitably wield a far greater influence in the future than they have wielded in the past. That this influence may bring the largest possible returns to public welfare, it is essential to place a proper emphasis upon the professional preparation of teachers. Such a policy alone can counteract the present perilous tendencies toward the development of this unfortunate class-consciousness among the classroom teachers as contrasted with the administration and supervisory officers. Such a policy alone can meet the Nation's greatest educational need — a mature, permanent, and generously prepared teacher for every classroom in the land.

(*C*) *School Inefficiency*

A third result of the low estimate in which the teacher's service is held and of the consequent inadequacy of the training agencies is in the low level of school efficiency as a whole. "Emergency" licenses have been issued during the past two years in much larger proportions than ever before, but they have always been issued far more frequently than they should be. More than this, as has been repeatedly pointed out, the great majority of teachers in the smaller schools have never been adequately trained for their work. The results that have followed from this situation are serious enough when individual pupils alone are considered; but the results upon the strength and efficiency of the Nation are far more disastrous.

Some of these results have already been referred to in the discussion of illiteracy, limited literacy, and physical deficiencies. Another condition closely related to these was brought to public attention by the Army records, although the situation that it revealed has been recognized by public-school workers for two decades. The reference here is to the low average schooling of the drafted men, — representing again the low average schooling of the general population. *The average school attendance of the drafted men was found to be but little more than six years.* This means, in general, that, of all the children who have entered the first grade of the public schools, a majority have failed to complete the work of the seventh grade.

The fundamental cause of this unfortunate showing is to be sought in the inadequacy of the teaching. Other causes have coöperated, of course, in producing this result, — poverty of parents and communities, a school program ill adapted to the abilities of many children, a lack of appreciation of education upon the part of parents, — but after all due allowance has been given to these factors, the outstanding fact of teaching inefficiency still looms as the largest single factor, and the weakness that can be most easily and most quickly remedied.

The justice and validity of this position will not be gainsaid by anyone familiar with the situation — but unfortunately the average citizen is not familiar with the situation. He is likely to think of teaching as a relatively simple task, and of its simplicity as increasing as one descends the age scale. To collegiate and high-school teaching he may perhaps attribute certain difficulties, but anyone who can "keep order" can teach little children. In this plausible but thoroughly fallacious point of view lies the tragedy of the lower schools, — a collective tragedy that finds concrete expression in millions of individual children who are unable to do the work of the school because the fine art of adapting that work to the widely varying capacities and abilities of children has never been recognized. Expert teaching can solve this problem, *and expert teachers can be provided by an adequate system of selection and training.*

THE NORMAL-SCHOOL SITUATION

Such a system does not exist in this country to-day. All of the states, and many of the cities, support normal schools, and many of these institutions render excellent service by sending into the lower schools a small but steady flow of well-equipped teachers. But, taking the Nation as a whole, the normal school system is utterly inadequate. The normal schools themselves are more penuriously supported by the public than is any other type of educational institution of comparable grade. Their instructors are notoriously underpaid and overworked in spite of the momentous character of their service — for what service is more momentous than that which prepares the teachers for the Nation's schools? The period of training is far too short for effective work; the maximum preparation for prospective elementary teachers involves only two years of professional study and training following the high school, and this, as has been pointed out earlier in this chapter, must be looked upon, not as a maximum but as the barest minimum.

The most deplorable fact regarding the normal schools, however, is that they do not attract students in sufficient numbers to begin to meet the need for trained teachers. Even in the pre-war years their total annual output of graduates *never amounted in the aggregate to more than one fifth of the number of recruits needed each year in the teaching service.* Indeed, if the number of graduates who do not serve in the schools is subtracted from the total output, the annual contribution of the normal schools is but barely adequate to furnish the new teachers needed because of the increase in the general population. For the five years before the war, the average number of new teaching positions opened each year was not less than 12,000. During these years, the public normal-school graduating classes averaged not more than 18,000. When one remembers that the total number of vacancies to be filled each year is upward of 100,000 the quota of trained teachers supplied by the normal schools appears to be almost negligible. It is far from negligible because the better service rendered by this small fraction of trained teachers stands out in conspicuous contrast to that of the immature and untrained recruit; but this very fact only serves to bring into high relief the inadequacies of the system.

The conclusion is inescapable that a comprehensive and nation-wide program for the preparation of public-school teachers is a matter of imperative concern *to the Nation.* The steps that should be immediately taken to enlarge and improve the teacher-training agencies will be discussed in Chapter XXI. In the following chapter the steps essential to the solution of the rural-school problem will claim attention.

CHAPTER XX

THE EQUALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

IN Chapters XVIII and XIX the outstanding weaknesses revealed by the war were traced to an educational system that is defective at the very points at which, for the welfare of the Nation, it should have the greatest strength. In so far as the rural schools are concerned, the situation thus revealed may be conveniently referred to as a gross inequality of educational opportunity and its correction must involve policies and programs that will aim to reduce these inequalities. It should be insisted (1) that such a reduction must involve a "leveling up" rather than a "leveling down," and (2) that it is urged not only as a matter of justice to individuals who are now denied adequate opportunities, but more fundamentally as a means of insuring national security and promoting national progress.

To establish firmly the principle of tax-support for public education has required a long, uphill struggle, and the struggle has been the more difficult the larger the unit of taxation. Even in the "neighborhood" unit — the local school district — the individual citizen was slow to see both the justice and the expediency of contributing through taxation to the education of other people's children. The notion that the value of his property and the welfare and prosperity of his own family depended upon the morality, the intelligence, and the industry of his neighbors was slow to dawn. But eventually the light came. Far more difficult of development has been the notion that the welfare of each unit — neighborhood, town, county, or state — depends upon the level of intelligence that characterizes every other unit. Slowly but surely, however, this principle has taken root, and the roots have deepened and ramified. To-day the principle of general state taxation for school purposes is fairly well established.[1] Eventually the logical extension of the principle will carry the taxing unit to boundaries no less circumscribed than those of the Nation itself. That no unit less comprehensive can satisfy the educational needs of the new era is the thesis of the present chapter.

THE JUSTIFICATION OF "GENERAL SCHOOL FUNDS"

While the essential justice of a large *taxing unit* for the support of schools has only recently been clearly recognized, efforts were made very early to establish permanent state school funds, — the interest on which was to be distributed to the separate towns, townships, or school districts. These were not, however, funds raised by general taxation; they were rather funds derived from the sale of public lands, and consequently were not "felt" by the tax-payer. Connecticut was especially fortunate in the sale of her Western Reserve and the money thus derived became a permanent state school fund. The states that were formed from the public domain, — the land originally ceded to the Federal Government by the original states, together with all other territory acquired through purchase, discovery, or conquest, — sought in various ways to establish state funds, the interest on which should be used for the support of education; but again the funds were not tax-derived.

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[1] An excellent account of the struggle for this principle is found in Cubberley's *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 118–181; also, pp. 489–492.

The establishment of general state funds based upon the proceeds from the sale of lands, however, paved the way for a general state school tax, particularly by making necessary the framing of plans and principles governing the distribution of the proceeds of the funds. The constitutions of the states frequently provided a method of distribution.[1] The plan commonly followed in the earlier days was to give to the local school district a sum proportionate to its "school population." The "school age" was usually from six to twenty-one; in some cases it was four to twenty; in still others it was from six to sixteen. This method of distribution was, at the time, defended on the basis of its fairness, but it is clear that the moneys so distributed served to equalize in a measure the school facilities in sections of varying wealth. They were in effect a stimulation, a subsidy.

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[1] See Swift's *Public Permanent Common School Funds*, Part II, for details; also, Cubberley's *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 118–354.

Usually Constitutional conditions were attached to the distribution of the fund, — a minimum term of three months of school each year; a legally qualified teacher; no sectarian instruction. The fund, in other words, became an agency through which the larger interests of the state could be safeguarded. The sovereign powers of the states, of course, could be exerted in a direct control without this agency, but, consistently with the ideals of local self-government, the states on the whole have been slow directly to command the local school officers to do all of the desired things. It is much more in harmony with the Anglo-Saxon tradition of local autonomy that these ends should be indirectly secured by controlling the distribution of public moneys.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to trace the genesis of the state public school funds. That has already been most admirably done.[1] The income of these funds, in terms of total expenditures for public schools in the several states, is shown in the accompanying table in columns eight and nine. The other columns show the source of the balance of the moneys expended for the maintenance and support of public schools.

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[1] See Part II of Swift's *Public Permanent Common School Funds.*

SCHOOL MONEYS RECEIVED IN 1915–16 BY STATE SCHOOL SYSTEMS (Showing distribution by income from state tax or appropriation, local tax or appropriation, from permanent school funds and rent of school lands and other sources, and the percentage which each bears to the total revenue)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Total Revenue Excluding Balances on Hand and Proceeds of Bond Sales	From State Tax or Appropriation	Per Cent	From Local Tax or Appropriation	Per Cent	From Other Sources State and Local	Per Cent	Income Permanent School Funds and Rent of School Lands	Per Cent	Value of State School Funds
Continental United States:	$633,900,833	$95,278,372	15.03	$488,119,944	77.00	$32,823,945	5.18	$17,678,572	2.79	$756,827,863
North Atlantic Division	221,227,770	27,668,433	12.51	181,016,372	81.82	11,364,432	5.14	1,177,533	.53	26,696,509
North Central Division	233,498,145	25,042,655	10.73	190,573,344	81.61	10,600,551	4.54	7,281,595	3.12	350,039,529
South Atlantic Division	42,403,437	10,561,628	24.91	28,453,083	67.10	3,062,767	7.22	325,959	.77	6,870,958
South Central Division	58,499,054	17,471,594	29.86	32,433,951	55.45	3,942,509	6.74	4,651,000	7.95	123,742,137
Western Division	78,272,427	14,534,062	18.57	55,643,194	71.09	3,852,686	4.92	4,242,485	5.42	249,478,730
North Atlantic Division:										
Maine	4,183,177	1,814,654	43.38	2,241,547	53.59	98,388	2.35	28,588	.68	482,771
New Hampshire	2,136,190	156,918	7.34	1,779,227	83.29	182,743	8.56	17,302	.81	936,241
Vermont	2,208,351	383,298	17.36	1,601,874	72.54	141,498	6.41	81,681	3.69	2,057,205
Massachusetts	26,892,884	270,216	1.01	26,111,658	97.09	307,645	1.14	203,365	.76	5,000,000
Rhode Island	3,286,077	194,393	5.92	3,051,427	92.86	19,373	.59	20,884	.63	445,322
Connecticut	8,163,346	912,745	11.18	6,673,704	81.75	410,076	5.02	166,821	2.05	3,008,591
New York	77,228,051	5,942,140	7.69	61,601,747	79.77	9,303,360	12.05	380,804	.49	9,175,084
New Jersey	24,441,496	10,494,069	42.94	12,766,990	52.23	902,349	3.69	278,088	1.14	5,327,314
Pennsylvania	72,688,198	7,500,000	10.31	65,188,198	89.69					263,981
North Central Division:										
Ohio	35,088,677	3,139,669	8.94	30,223,993	86.14	1,475,244	4.21	249,771	.71	4,622,802
Indiana	23,029,161	2,953,474	12.82	19,360,999	84.07			714,688	3.11	11,965,107
Illinois	42,847,765	4,021,000	9.38	37,397,757	87.28	409,823	.95	1,019,185	2.37	33,671,297
Michigan	22,965,766	6,424,578	27.98	14,247,004	62.04	2,294,184	9.98	(1)		
Wisconsin	14,508,299	2,589,222	17.85	10,972,723	75.63	695,995	4.80	249,359	1.72	4,366,475
Minnesota	16,372,422	1,766,322	10.79	13,463,528	82.23			1,142,572	6.98	204,611,796
Iowa	19,769,256	1,364,742	6.90	16,027,351	81.07	2,160,644	10.93	216,519	1.10	4,804,445

Missouri	18,365,906	1,764,334	9.61	14,551,947	79.23	1,177,336	6.41	872,289	4.75	15,145,814
North Dakota	7,778,021	1,019,314	13.11	5,430,017	69.81	1,328,690	17.08			32,324,916
South Dakota	5,212,432			3,867,904	74.20	328,254	6.30	1,016,274	19.50	
Nebraska	10,695,761	(2)		8,682,200	81.18	730,381	6.83	1,283,185	11.99	28,898,676
Kansas	16,865,674	(2)		16,347,921	96.93	(2)		517,753	3.07	9,628,201
South Atlantic Division:										
Delaware	421,625	153,214	36.24	197,347	46.81	29,488	6.99	41,576	9.86	944,407
Maryland	6,118,798	1,822,434	29.78	4,160,004	67.99	86,423	1.41	49,937	.82	1,024,430
District of Columbia	3,354,486	1,660,206	49.49	1,660,206	49.49	34,074	1.01			
Virginia	7,390,340	2,128,971	28.81	4,439,941	60.07	728,823	9.87	92,605	1.25	3,041,657
West Virginia	6,901,455	642,900	9.31	5,856,525	84.85	326,668	4.70	75,362	1.09	1,000,000
North Carolina	5,356,176	826,551	15.43	4,348,711	81.19	180,914	3.37			860,464
South Carolina	3,505,056	352,127	10.04	2,467,548	70.39	685,381	1.95			
Georgia	6,106,979	2,700,000	44.21	2,583,163	42.29	823,816	1.34			
Florida	3,248,522	275,225	8.47	2,739,638	84.34	167,180	5.14	66,479	2.05	
South Central Division:										
Kentucky	7,735,577	3,401,858	43.98	3,529,738	45.63	657,063	8.49	146,918	1.90	2,448,636
Tennessee	6,036,588	903,968	14.98	4,899,300	81.16	94,437	1.56	138,883	2.30	2,512,500
Alabama	5,138,617	2,546,670	49.56	1,460,604	28.42	959,242	18.67	172,101	3.35	3,024,291
Mississippi	3,155,083	1,454,941	46.11	1,213,330	38.46	314,222	9.96	172,590	5.47	816,615
Louisiana	5,093,292	1,126,178	22.11	3,859,486	75.77	(2)		107,628	2.12	3,395,588
Texas	17,829,876	6,171,590	34.61	7,780,406	43.64	1,026,398	5.76	2,851,482	15.99	85,681,212
Arkansas	4,442,444	1,514,809	34.10	2,737,909	61.63	189,726	4.27	(1)		1,134,500
Oklahoma	9,067,577	351,580	3.88	6,953,178	76.68	701,421	7.73	1,061,398	11.71	24,728,795
Western Division:										
Montana	5,694,218	2,895,261	50.85	1,834,955	32.22	241,273	4.24	722,729	12.69	
Wyoming	1,740,340			1,060,372	60.92	15,836	.91	664,132	38.17	33,906,396
Colorado	8,406,480	1,558,265	18.54	6,344,503	75.47			503,712	5.99	49,131,644
New Mexico	1,992,972	82,500	4.14	1,287,055	64.57	422,840	21.23	200,577	10.06	41,538,009
Arizona	2,436,966	478,572	19.64	1,333,987	54.74	624,407	25.62			
Utah	4,371,424	792,852	18.13	3,201,711	73.24	161,956	3.71	214,905	4.92	6,692,657
Nevada	821,672	90,000	10.95	442,931	53.91	108,709	13.23	180,032	21.91	3,346,724
Idaho	3,674,916			2,896,091	78.81	251,022	6.83	527,803	14.36	27,386,298
Washington	15,148,206	2,090,307	13.79	12,208,984	80.60			848,915	5.61	71,810,361
Oregon	6,875,438			5,934,441	86.32	561,317	8.16	379,680	5.52	8,237,500
California	27,109,795	6,546,305	24.14	19,098,164	70.45	1,465,326	5.41	(1)		7,429,141

Commissioner of Education Report, Vol. II, 1917, p. 78.
(1) Included in Column 2; (2) Included in Column 4..

The table also shows that the states, almost without exception, now raise a fund by taxation and then distribute this to the different school units. This fund is usually distributed with conditions attached. Since both the amount of tax and the conditions of its distribution are wholly legislative, they are subject to frequent change. In this way, the separate school units may be stimulated to undertake special types of work, such as manual training, agriculture, and domestic science. In many states, a part of this state tax-money is set aside for the encouragement of high schools. In one state, a part of the "mill tax" has been set aside to induce country schools to install modern heating and ventilating systems.

The theory governing the state "millage tax" for school purposes, then, has gradually been crystallized through legislative practice in two propositions:

1. *All the wealth of the state should, in justice, be taxed to pay a part of the expense of educating all of the children of the state.*

2. *A portion of the money raised by the general state tax for school purposes may properly be used for the purpose of stimulating school units to undertake special forms of educational endeavor, deemed desirable by the Legislature.*

There is, however, a fundamental implication of public education that has not as yet found clear expression in legislative enactments. The free public school is not simply the coöperative effort of the parents whose children attend the school. It is not simply the effort of the community, nor of the state. The Nation has an interest and a stake in every boy and girl. The free public school must represent the opportunity for each individual to acquire and develop those qualities of body, mind, and heart that make it possible for him to be of the highest service not only to himself and his state, but also to his country. For the sake of the Nation as well as for the sake of the individual, the free public school must stand for the ideal of *equality of educational opportunity* in the sense that every individual should, *for the Nation's sake*, have the largest and widest educational advantages that the collective resources of the Nation can equitably and reasonably provide.

This equality of educational opportunity does not exist to-day within a single one of our states. The state laws, for example, prescribe a minimum length of school year. In general, this minimum is the actual length of the school year in the rural districts and the small villages, while in the cities the school year is longer. Again, the wages paid in the rural districts and in the small villages are usually much lower than those paid in the cities; consequently, as the preceding chapters pointed out, the teachers in rural and village schools are, as a group, far less competent than are the teachers who serve in the cities for the longer term each year at a much higher monthly wage. The apparatus and aids to learning are not so abundantly supplied in rural and village schools as in city schools.

The cause back of these discrepancies and inequalities has already been referred to. The schools are supported very largely by local taxation and the *per capita* wealth in the sparsely settled areas is almost always lower than in the thickly populated areas, while the cost of operating schools with equal advantages is very much higher, pupil for pupil.

What does this standard of equality of educational opportunity mean? It means that each boy and girl should have, substantially, as good a school to attend as any boy or girl has to attend. It means making all schools equally good in all fundamental matters, not by lowering the standards of the best schools, but by raising those of the poor and mediocre schools. These fundamental matters are:

1. Properly heated, ventilated, and lighted schoolrooms.

2. Healthful working conditions and proper instructional equipment.

3. A sufficiently diversified program of studies and work to furnish the basal ideas and ideals demanded by our expanding and developing social life.

4. A properly graded, organized, and supervised curriculum of studies.

5. A teacher adequately qualified as to personality, maturity of mind, uprightness of character, range of knowledge, and teaching skill.

Judged by these standards, there is no state that offers equality of educational opportunity, — there is scarcely a county. Of late, several states, in order to protect the children from insanitary conditions, have assumed some measure of oversight regarding the building of school houses; a few states have established and enforced minimum standards in such matters as seating and apparatus; many states have courses of study, but these are often only suggestive or optional, and when they are prescriptive, the states generally lack facilities for insuring that they are properly administered. Gradation, organization, and supervision are in most of the states at a very low degree of efficiency when one considers the schools as a whole. Every state has different grades of teachers' licenses, — the lowest grade of certificate being found in abundance where salaries are low, and the highest grade of certificate being most abundant where the salaries are highest.

The teacher is the key to the situation. The question of qualified teachers cannot be considered without involving the salary question. The salary question brings up the ever-present question of taxation. Taxation levies upon individual and corporate property, and to increase taxation arouses opposition and involves political entanglements. It is perfectly clear, however, that our public schools cannot hold their own in a world of inflated currency, high wages, and high prices unless more money is spent upon them. The war only accentuated and set in clear relief a condition that was already growing intolerable except in cities where wealth and public spirit happened to coincide.

CONDITIONS IN TYPICAL STATES

The preparation of the teacher will be dealt with in the following chapter; our concern here is only with the money cost of good public schools.

It is not easy to get accurate financial data for the several state school systems. The rates of assessment for purposes of taxation often bear little or no uniform relation to the real wealth of the different local units in a state. A few states have brought their assessment-rates substantially to a fair cash-value basis. In such a state it is easy to make comparisons. A table (pp. 252–253) has been constructed to show the wealth of the different counties in the State of Wisconsin, the *per capita* wealth, and the taxable wealth that is back of each child of school age in the several counties. The figures speak for themselves. The extremes are $2498 for each child in Marinette County against $8976 per child in Green County. To raise $30 for each child by taxation would require a tax of 12 mills in Marinette County and of 3.3 mills in Green County.

This inequality of financial ability is partially overcome in Wisconsin by a state tax of seven tenths of a mill on all the property of the state. The fund thus raised is distributed back to the counties on the basis of the number of persons of school age. This form of state aid operates only to lower the necessary millage of direct taxation in each county or in each local school unit; it fails entirely to equalize the tax rate for the support of education. A high rate of taxation tends to lower the sale values of all real estate affected because what is paid in taxes is not available as profits. Therefore, all taxing bodies seek to keep taxes at as low a rate as possible.

The system of distribution in Wisconsin, then, tends to lower the local tax rate for the support of schools. The districts do not have more by the amount of the state "distributive" school fund.[1] This result is probably not what the makers of Wisconsin's Constitution intended, for it was the Constitution of 1848 that settled the policy of distribution.[2]

[1] In fairness it should be stated that there is a provision in the Wisconsin law by which school units cannot share in the state funds unless they have raised as much by local taxation in the preceding year as their share of the state fund amounts to. Since the state fund is less than $3 per person of school age, the law just mentioned practically affects only those districts that are largely served by parochial schools.

[2] The Wisconsin Legislature, by Chapter 622, Laws of 1919, has provided that "hereafter no school district shall be formed with an assessed valuation of $75,000 or less without the consent of the State Superintendent." Special state aid is provided for existing "districts having an existing valuation of $75,000 or less, so that no such district will be required to levy a tax for teachers' wages in excess of five mills on the dollar." A five-mill tax on $75,000 is $375. The minimum salary is $60 a month and the minimum term is eight months. The minimum amount for teachers' wages is $480. Districts with $75,000 or less of assessed valuation will receive $105 or more of state aid; that is, a real equalization subsidy.

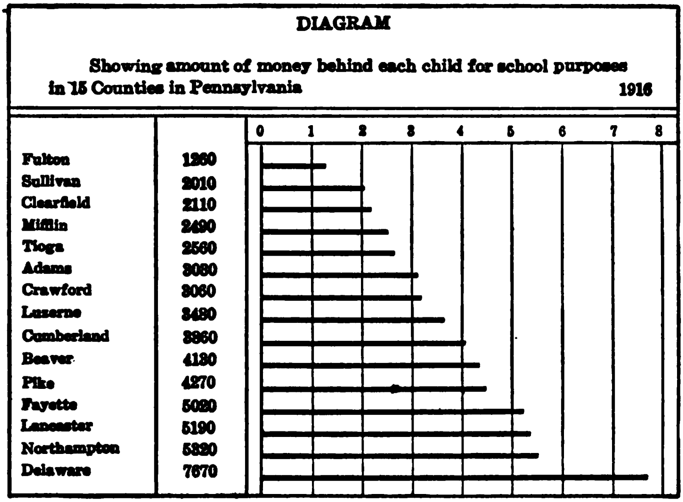
WISCONSIN TABLE

COUNTIES	ASSESSED VALUATION 1918	ESTIMATED POPULATION 1918	WEALTH PER CAPITA	SCHOOL CENSUS 4–20 (17–18)	WEALTH PER PERSON 4–20	TAX TO RAISE $30.00 FOR EACH PERSON 4–20	
						AMOUNT	RATE IN MILLAGE
Adams	$11,226,627	9,366	$1,198	3,198	$3,510	$ 95,940	8.5
Ashland	22,963,499	23,911	963	8,621	2,663	258,630	11.2
Barron	40,227,696	31,693	1,269	12,141	3,313	364,230	9.0
Bayfield	22,825,182	17,403	1,311	6,632	3,441	198,960	8.7
Brown	73,307,233	58,891	1,244	20,125	3,642	603,750	8.2
Buffalo	26,090,984	17,427	1,497	5,345	4,881	160,350	6.1
Burnett	11,346.006	9,825	1,154	3,647	3,111	109,410	9.6
Calumet	36,137,029	18,180	1,987	5,763	6,270	172,890	4.7
Chippewa	44,651,895	34,937	1,278	11,866	3,763	355,980	7.9
Clark	45.857,757	32,738	1,400	12,166	3,769	364,980	7.9
Columbia	58,754,801	33,887	1,733	9,120	6,442	273,600	4.6
Crawford	24,052,204	17,731	1,356	5,577	4,312	167,310	6.9
Dane	191,477,051	84,295	2,271	24,627	7,775	738,810	3.8
Dodge	105,021,925	51,638	2,033	13,692	7,670	410,760	3.9
Door	22,549,650	20,368	1,107	6,856	3,288	205,680	9.1
Douglass	67,960,897	51,623	1,316	14,354	4,737	430,620	6.3
Dunn	38,104,842	27,498	1,385	8,847	4,307	265,410	6.9
Eau Claire	38,879,887	35,620	1,091	10,709	3,630	321,270	8.2
Florence	4,882,875	3,680	1,326	1,137	4,294	34,110	6.9
Fond du Lac	86,322,911	56,182	1,536	16,586	5,204	497,580	5.7
Forest	14,987,375	7,382	2,030	3,098	4,837	92,940	6.2
Grant	80,849,022	42,463	1,903	11,865	6,814	355,950	4.4
Green	58,204,343	23,558	2,470	6,484	8,976	194,520	3.3
Green Lake	28,698,426	16,863	1,701	4,920	5,833	147,600	5.1
Iowa	56,206,425	24,490	2,295	6,570	8,555	197,100	3.5
Iron	14,143,074	9,041	1,564	3.179	4,448	95,370	6.7
Jackson	23,695,957	18,587	1,274	5,888	4,024	176,640	7.4
Jefferson	69,468,439	37,345	1,860	10,679	6,533	320,370	4.6
Juneau	22,654,402	21,302	1,063	6,274	3,610	188,220	8.3
Kenosha	65,345,327	35,846	1,823	12,621	5,185	378,630	5.7
Kewaunee	27,192,466	18,271	1,488	5,790	4,696	173,700	6.3
La Crosse	50,885,189	47,894	1,062	13,327	3,818	399,810	7.8
Lafayette	57,145,863	21,853	2,615	6,136	9,313	184,080	3.2
Langlade	23,912,028	18,573	1,287	7,181	3,329	215,430	9.0
Lincoln	23,112,588	20,753	1,113	7,642	3,024	229,260	9.9

Manitowoc	75,671,974	48,963	1,545	17,362	4,358	520,860	6.8
Marathon	74,238,060	59,931	1,238	23,746	3,126	712,380	9.5
Marinette	31,653,903	36,807	859	12,667	2,498	380,010	12.0
Marquette	14.699,378	11,692	1,257	3,489	4,213	104,670	7.1
Milwaukee	737,030,558	471,567	1,562	147,819	4,986	4,434,570	6.0
Monroe	39,883,031	31,439	1,268	9,058	4,403	271,740	6.8
Oconto	27,405,097	27,930	980	10,522	2,604	315,660	11.5
Oneida	16,008,553	12,445	1,286	4,689	3,414	140,670	8.7
Outagamie	74,411,642	53,452	1,392	17,982	4,138	539,460	7.2
Ozaukee	29,084,119	8,248	3,526	5,267	5,521	158,010	5.4
Pepin	10,541,512	18,640	565	2,458	4,288	73,740	6.9
Pierce	32,189,879	24,035	1,339	6,774	4,751	203,220	6.3
Polk	35,015,562	23,260	1,590	9,426	3,714	282,780	8.0
Portage	33,056,481	33.686	981	12,008	2,752	360,240	10.8
Price	18,555,335	15,018	1,235	6,237	2,992	187,110	10.0
Racine	106,011,087	62,511	1,695	19,546	5,423	586,380	5.5
Richland	38,804,189	20,475	1,895	6,362	6,099	190,860	4.8
Rock	105,840,289	60,458	1,750	16,258	6,510	487,740	4.6
Rusk	17,221,007	12,148	1,417	5,729	3,005	171,870	9.9
St. Croix	42,633,602	28,205	1,511	8,328	5,119	249,840	5.8
Sauk	62,663,336	35,781	1,751	9,606	6,523	288,180	4.5
Sawyer	12,141,191	6,778	1,791	2,744	4,424	82,320	6.7
Shawano	38,090,450	34,708	1,097	11,505	3,310	345,150	9.0
Sheboygan	88,079,661	59,751	1,474	17,793	4,950	533,790	6.0
Taylor	18,774,725	14,849	1,264	6,229	3,014	186,870	9.9
Trempealeau	35,304,172	24,959	1,414	8 172	4,320	245,160	6.9
Vernon	43,964,507	30,607	1,436	9,699	4,532	290,970	6.6
Vilas	8,482,645	6,552	1,294	1,753	4,838	52,590	6.1
Walworth	68,689,012	32,337	2,124	7,905	8,689	237.150	3.4
Washburn	12,614,974	8,922	1,413	3,624	3,480	108,720	8.6
Washington	46,757,701	25,891	1,805	7,619	6,136	228,570	4.8
Waukesha	69,724,536	40,387	1,726	11,547	6,038	346,410	4.9
Waupaca	45,841,037	35,686	1,284	10,946	4,187	328,380	7.1
Waushara	22,325,157	20,559	1,085	6,005	3,717	180,150	8.1
Winnebago	83,174,369	67,619	1,230	18,411	4,517	552,330	6.6
Wood	40,539,138	33,293	1,217	12,229	3,315	366,870	9.0

As a further illustration, let us take a state that has not had a Tax Commission, leaving assessments to townships and boroughs and having only an imperfect county and state equalization system. From the many, we shall choose Pennsylvania as fairly typical. The table (pp. 256–257) shows the wealth assessed for school purposes, the wealth *per capita* that is back of each person of school age (six to twenty), and the millage necessary to provide $30 for each person of school age. The facts are so plain as to need no comment. The extreme variation in current rates is found by comparing Union County (millage 5.42) with Susquehanna County (millage 19.03). To raise $30 for each person of school age (6 to 20, 1910) would require a tax rate of 6.44 mills in Green County and 50.3 mills in Susquehanna County.

This wide diversity in tax rate exists in Pennsylvania in spite of a very generous state fund that is distributed to the districts, one half on the basis of the number of children from six to sixteen, and one half on the basis of the number of teachers employed. A district with only seven months of school gets as much for the teachers employed and as much for the children of school age as does a district that has nine or even ten months of school. Yet, as a general rule, the districts with the lowest tax rates have the longest terms, pay the highest salaries, and have the best equipments, courses of study, and supervision.



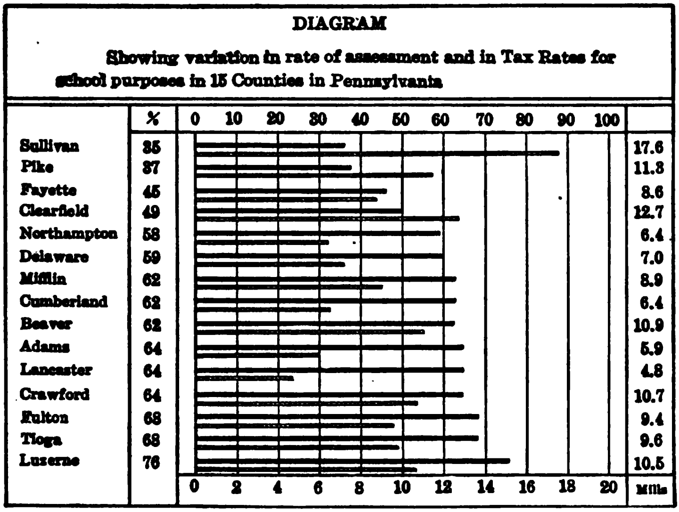


FIGURE 4.—The above diagrams are taken from an article by H. Updegraff in *Proc. Univ. of Pa.*, Schoolmen's Week, 1919, pp. 134 ff.

PENNSYLVANIA

COUNTIES	WEALTH ASSESSED FOR SCHOOL PURPOSES	POPULATION 1910	ASSESSED WEALTH PER CAPITA	POPULATION 6–20 YEARS 1910	VALUATION PER CAPITA 6–20 YEARS	MILLAGE TAX TO RAISE $30 FOR EACH PERSON 6–20 YEARS	ACTUAL MILLAGE FOR SCHOOLS
State	$5,620,640,790	7,665,111	$ 733.27	2,194,303	$2,561.46	11.17	7.6
Adams	13,755,633	34,319	400.81	10,589	1,299.04	23.09	5.95
Allegheny	1,270,129,260	1,018,463	1,247.07	284,436	4,465.43	6.71	6.38
Armstrong	16,553,605	67,880	243.86	20,248	812.59	36.69	14.74
Beaver	53,894,654	78,353	687.84	21,360	2,523.15	11.88	11.30
Bedford	9,710,900	38,879	249.77	12,770	760.44	39.45	10.71
Berks	109,056,829	183,222	595.21	51,622	2,112.60	14.20	9.31
Blair	48,558,654	108,858	446.07	31,664	1,533.56	19.56	11.24
Bradford	21,700,085	54,526	397.97	14,665	1,479.03	20.27	12.04
Bucks	44,162,379	76,530	577.05	21,963	2,010.76	14.89	6.54
Butler	30,828,207	72,689	424.11	21,151	1,457.52	20.58	8.34
Cambria	142,469,315	166,131	857.57	50,688	2,810.71	10.67	8.97
Cameron	3,201,561	7,644	418.83	2,331	1,373.47	21.84	11.08
Carbon	28,502,581	52,846	539.35	15,940	1,788.11	16.77	7.85
Center	13,404,035	43,424	308.72	13,742	975.40	30.75	8.58
Chester	76,659,600	109,213	701.92	30,562	2,508.33	11.96	6.46
Clarion	9,416,206	36,638	257.01	12,070	780.13	38.45	12.26
Clearfield	20,827,277	93,768	222.11	31,440	662.44	45.28	9.62
Clinton	11,150,678	31,545	353.48	9,370	1,190.04	25.20	10.88
Columbia . . .	14,518,402	48,467	299.55	14,154	1,025.73	29.24	13.89
Crawford	24,400,555	61,565	396.33	16,168	1,509.18	19.87	11.15
Cumberland . . .	27,664,471	54,479	507.78	15,658	1,766.79	16.97	5.58
Dauphin	79,200,145	136,152	581.70	36,909	2,145.82	13.99	10.11
Delaware	101,776,954	117,906	863.20	32,707	3,111.77	9.64	7.45
Elk	7,667,710	35,871	213.75	11,424	671.19	44.69	19.26
Erie	68,202,593	115,517	590.41	31,807	2,144.26	13.99	10.57
Fayette	94,293,073	167,449	563.11	48,363	1,949.69	15.38	10.00
Forest	2,550,379	9,435	270.31	3,227	790.32	37.95	16.17
Franklin	33,737,691	59,775	564.41	18,367	1,836.86	16.33	6.08
Fulton	2,246,118	9,703	231.48	3,166	709.44	42.28	8.89
Greene	39,429,986	28,882	1,365.21	8,472	4,654.15	6.44	4.08
Huntingdon . . .	8,829,098	38,304	230.50	12,233	721.74	41.56	12.09
Indiana	17,191,878	66,210	259.65	19,343	888.79	33.75	11.76

Jefferson	13,404,897	63,090	212.47	20,665	648.65	46.24	14.72
Juniata	4,611,491	15,013	307.16	4,729	975.15	30.76	8.38
Lackawanna	202,330,806	259,570	779.48	80,099	2,526.00	11.87	8.31
Lancaster	108,323,881	167,029	648.53	47,933	2,259.90	13.27	5.39
Lawrence	36,577,975	70,032	522.33	19,164	1,908.68	15.71	10.14
Lebanon	44,006,063	59,565	738.79	16,979	2,591.79	11.57	5.93
Lehigh	92,943,725	118,832	782.14	33,657	2,761.49	10.86	7.22
Lucerne	325,999,709	343,186	949.92	108,491	3,004.85	9.98	7.27
Lycoming	25,238,030	80,813	312.17	23,440	1,076.70	27.86	14.29
McKean	15,660,795	47,868	327.16	13,813	1,133.77	26.45	11.94
Mercer	40,011,369	77,699	514.95	20,817	1,922.05	15.60	9.70
Mifflin	11,029,913	27,785	396.97	8,456	1,304.38	22.90	8.70
Monroe	9,755,424	22,941	425.23	6,743	1,446.74	20.73	8.55
Montgomery	136,916,380	169,590	807.33	46,164	2,965.86	10.11	7.59
Montour	5,081,611	14,868	341.78	3,824	1,328.87	22.57	8.77
Northampton	80,768,599	127,667	632.65	35,087	2,301.95	13.03	7.03
Northumberland	45,491,170	111,420	408.28	34,383	1,323.07	22.67	14.28
Perry	8,728,753	24,136	361.64	7,582	1,151.24	26.05	7.12
Philadelphia	1,445,821,590	1,549,008	933.30	410,243	3,524.30	8.51	6.07
Pike	2,322,940	8,033	289.17	2,293	1,013.05	29.61	11.95
Porter	5,670,400	29,729	190.75	8,533	664.52	45.14	13.09
Schuylkill	61,881,516	207,894	297.65	64,497	943.92	31.26	13.91
Snyder	5,096,873	16,800	303.38	5,065	1,006.29	29.81	7.93
Somerset	21,120,901	67,717	311.89	20,615	1,024.54	29.28	14.95
Sullivan	4,450,419	11,293	394.13	3,715	1,197.95	25.04	9.28
Susquehanna	6,148,991	37,746	162.90	10,255	5,996.09	50.03	19.03
Tioga	14,628,333	42,829	341.55	12,441	1,175.81	25.51	10.72
Union	8,073,350	16,249	496.85	4,456	1,811.79	16.55	5.42
Venango	27,349,295	56,359	485.26	16,297	1,678.11	17.87	9.05
Warren	13,972,638	39,573	353.08	10,893	1,282.71	23.38	15.74
Washington	124,901,816	143,680	869.44	41,169	3,033.88	9.88	7.64
Wayne	11,093,923	29,236	379.46	8,683	1,277.66	23.48	9.19
Westmoreland	148,732,050	231,304	643.01	68,875	2,159.44	13.89	10.98
Wyoming	3,984,960	15,509	256.94	4,328	920.73	32.58	13.97
York	62,819,692	136,405	460.53	41,303	1,520.94	19.72	7.21
	(1)	(2)		(3)			(4)

(1) Annual Report of Secretary of Internal Affairs, 1917, Figures for 1916. P. 272–B. Col. 2.

(2) Smull's *Legislative Handbook*, p. 336.

(3) Abstract of Census, 1910, Pennsylvania, pp. 615–627.

(4) Computed from amount of taxes collected for school purposes (Annual Report Secy. Internal Affairs, Penn., 1917, p. 420–B, Col. 3) and data quoted as to assessed wealth.

But the figures just quoted have scant significance because the assessments are not on a uniform basis in the several school-taxing units. The figures are correct, — but the facts which they are supposed to express are not accurately revealed thereby. Meanwhile, however, the inequality of educational opportunity exists and cannot be removed or remedied by additional moneys distributed on the present bases.[1]

This inequality exists within the counties of a state as well as in the state as a whole. A county near the state average for Pennsylvania is presented on page 259 so that the inequality may be seen at a glance.

The comparative expenditures for school and road purposes for Washington County, Pennsylvania, are shown in the table on page 260.[2]

The facts that are here presented about the finances of education in Pennsylvania show clearly that equalization of educational opportunities is practically impossible in a state that has no tax commission. The establishment of a tax commission is a political matter that must be settled affirmatively before an educational "square deal" becomes a possibility.

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[1] The diagrams on page 255 are taken from H. Updegraff's "Application of State Funds to the Aid of Local Schools," *Sixth Annual Schoolmen's Week Proceedings*, University of Pennsylvania, 1919, pp. 134 ff.

[2] Quoted from the Washington County, Pa., *School Annual*, 1919, p. 51. County Superintendent L. R. Crumrine has set an example which is worthy of emulation.

LAWRENCE COUNTY, PA.
(Made from data on page 548 — State Superintendent's Report, 1917)

DISTRICTS	NUMBER OF TEACHERS	NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED	NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED PER TEACHER	MILLAGE LEVIED	RAISED BY LOCAL TAX		MONTHS OF SCHOOL	RECEIVED FROM STATE	
					Amount	Per Pupil		Amount	Per Pupil
1. Beaver, Big, Township	8	235	29.3	5	$3,283.09	13.97	7	$1,131.94	4.81
2. Beaver, Little, Township	5	112	24.4	3.75	2,097.67	18.72	7	785.53	7.01
3. Beaver, North, Township	15	346	23	5	7,046.70	20.36	8	2,564.67	7.41
4. Bessemer Borough	7	284	40.5	7	4,437.03	15.62	9	1,281.00	4.51
5. Chewton Independent	4	195	48.7	12	1,730.34	8.87	7	761.88	3.90
6. Edenburg Independent	2	97	48.5	10	1,407.65	14.51	8	493.25	5.08
7. Ellwood City Borough	34	1,453	42.7	13.5	41,626.62	28.64	9	6,024.18	4.14
8. Enon Valley Borough	4	97	24.2	12	1,680.00	17.31	8	1,155.00	11.90
9. Hickory Township	7	237	33.4	4	3,400.92	14.34	7	1,666.62	7.03
10. Mahoning Township	18	656	36.4	9	11,602.93	17.68	8	3,209.31	4.89
11. Neshannock Township	9	316	35.1	9	6,079.95	19.24	7	1,763.20	5.57
12. New Castle City	240	7,801	32.5	11	238,059.55	30.51	9	26,965.48	3.45
13. New Wilmington Borough	7	210	30	12	4,058.99	19.28	9	1,905.65	9.07
14. Perry Township	8	224	28	9	2,956.56	13.19	7	1,378.86	6.15
15. Plain Grove Township	5	183	36.6	13	3,945.19	21.55	7	1,701.37	9.29
16. Pulaski Township	12	316	26.3	6	5,500.00	17.40	8	1,798.92	5.69
17. Scott Township	6	133	22.1	6	2,615.10	19.66	7	1,550.00	11.65
18. Shenango Township	19	596	31.3	11	9,240.02	15.50	7	2,805.62	4.70
19. Slippery Rock Township	13	277	21.3	7	3,908.70	14.11	7	2,478.91	8.95
20. S. New Castle Borough	5	186	37.2	15	2,587.31	13.91	8	905.80	4.86
21. Taylor Township	5	208	41.6	8.5	4,443.09	21.36	9	1,381.37	6.64
22. Union Township	10	389	38.9	8	7,196.51	18.50	8	2,223.98	5.71
23. Volant Township	3	78	26	12	797.03	10.21	8	727.13	9.32
24. Wampum Borough	6	201	33.5	12	3,349.35	16.66	8	1,199.21	5.96
25. Washington Township	4	113	28.2	8	2,540.00	22.47	7	807.70	7.14
26. Wayne Township	12	437	36.4	8	4,163.75	9.52	7	2,056.74	4.70
27. Wilmington Township	6	135	22.5	5	2,871.73	21.27	7	1,388.66	10.28
Total	474	15,435	32.5	9	$382,626.10	24.78	8.37	$72,111.98	4.67

WASHINGTON COUNTY (PENNSYLVANIA) TAX MILLAGE
(The third column of Totals includes 4¾ mills, the uniform state and county millage.)

	SCHOOL	ROAD	TOTAL		SCHOOL	ROAD	TOTAL
Allen	13		17¾	Houston	12½	11	28¼
Amwell	2	3½	10¼	Independence	5	3½	13¼
Beallsville	6	5	15¾	Jefferson	6	3	13¾
Bentleyville	20	8	32¾	Long Branch	9½	10	24¼
Blaine	6	4	14¾	Marianna	20	11	35¾
Buffalo	5	4	13¾	Midway	15	12	31¾
Burgettstown	15	14	33¾	Monongahela	15	12	31¾
California	20	11	35¾	Morris	6	3½	14¼
Canonsburg	15	12½	32¼	Mt. Pleasant	6½	3¾	15
Canton	6½	3	14¼	McDonald	16	10	30¾
Carroll	10	8	22¾	New Eagle	13	8	25¾
Cecil	8	4¼	17	North Charleroi	25	17	46¾
Centerville	7	10	21¾	North Franklin	6	3½	14¼
Charleroi	20	15	39¾	North Strabane	4	4½	13¼
Chartiers	5	4½	14¼	Nottingham	2¼	5	12
Claysville	15	10	29¾	Peters	3½	4½	12¾
Coal Center	15	10	29¾	Robinson	8	6	18¾
Cokeburg	18	4½	27¼	Roscoe	16	15	35¾
Cross Creek	5	4	13¾	Smith	11	5	20¾
Deemston	2	6	12¾	Somerset	2½	5	12¼
Donegal	3¼	3½	11½	South Franklin	1½	2	8¼
Donora	17	12	33¾	South Strabane	3¾	3¾	12¼
Dunlevy	14	6	24¾	Speers	11	15	30¾
East Bethlehem	22	8	34¾	Stockdale	18	4½	27¼
East Finley	3	5	12¾	Twilight	7½	13	25¼
East Pike Run	15	8	27¾	Union	7	7	18¾
East Washington	8	11	23¾	West Alexander	10	7	21¾
Elco	20	8	32¾	West Bethlehem	5	4¼	14
Ellsworth	20	10	34¾	West Brownsville	14½	18	37¼
Fallowfield	5½	8	18¼	West Finley	5	6	15¾
Finleyville	10	15	29¾	West Middletown	13	3	20¾
Hanover	5	3	12¾	West Pike Run	4¼	10	19
Hopewell	3½	2½	10¾	Washington	14	14	32¾

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL SCHOOL FUNDS

It should now be evident that the equalization of educational opportunities within a given state is not entirely a matter of state distributive funds although such funds are the first condition of equalization. Beyond this, however, there must be an equitable method of distribution, — giving where actually needed to supplement local effort in communities in which the *per capita* wealth is low, and giving only when the local effort has met a reasonable standard set by the state.

This is the financial side of the matter. The educational side is to be met by wise legislative enactments that will insure for each community the fundamental conditions underlying equality of educational opportunity: (1) a well-qualified teacher and (2) a school term at least nine months in length. A school taught by a well-prepared teacher is obviously worth more to a state than is a school taught by a teacher of equivalent personal qualities who is without preparation for his work, and a school term of nine months means more to the welfare of the state than a school term of seven months. The mere raising of large sums of money by state taxation and then giving it back to school units cannot in itself insure equality of educational opportunity, no matter how long the practice is continued nor how large the bounty.

It is not difficult to see how the states have drifted into their present plans for the distribution of state educational funds. The early funds were merely sent back to the local districts on the basis of *total population*. Thus communities with relatively few children of school age (in general, urban communities) profited at the expense of the communities with relatively numerous children of school age (in general, the rural communities). The injustice of this policy led to a distribution on the basis of *school population*. The fund was small for any school unit, and it seemed to be wholly a gratuity, as, in many cases, it really was. It was aid that acted as inducement, but it did not guarantee long school terms and continuous attendance. As an inducement it served its day and generation well. The progressive development of an established institution, however, is a very different matter from merely inducing people to establish it, and measures that adequately serve the latter temporary purpose may not meet the former permanent need. Of course, there is a "vested interest" that must not be violated, but the direction in which the inducement is applied may, in perfect good faith, be changed periodically and progressively for the greater good of the state and of the different school units.

When the interest on state school funds was supplemented by state taxes, the same method of distribution that had been in operation previously was applied. More recently some of the states have been distributing a part of their funds on the basis of *aggregate days' attendance*, thereby stimulating the local communities, first to have long school terms, and secondly to require pupils to be in continuous attendance. Others distribute a portion on the *teacher basis*, making a difference in favor of the teacher with the better qualifications. These methods constitute a more equitable basis of distribution, but do not alone and by themselves insure a substantial equality of educational opportunity.[1]

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[1] West Virginia is just starting an equalization measure passed by the Legislature in 1919.

It should now be evident that the financial aspects of the equalization of educational opportunities within a state involve many complicated problems. There is all the force of tradition and existing practice to be overcome. Existing practice is often to the advantage of many school units; they are doing well and prospering, even meeting all suggested standards with a plus mark to their credit. They do not wish existing conditions disturbed in the least. Many of them fear a higher local millage if steps toward equalization are seriously undertaken. Other school districts are fearful that their school terms will be lengthened, that their school buildings will be condemned, that salaries of teachers will be increased, and that qualifications of teachers will be so raised and stated that local girls cannot be employed as teachers at the prevailing low wages. The opposition of this group is both considerable and stubborn. There are other districts that would not be materially affected and consequently they are indifferent. The districts that are far below the standard are usually either unaware of the fact or unwilling to admit it. Then there is the heavy taxpayer who regards the whole proposal as just another socialistic scheme of conscripting wealth.

EDUCATIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE

The fundamental fact behind all this opposition is the public attitude toward educational responsibility.

The old notion of education as an individual advantage rather than a national asset and necessity still persists. The reason for the non-achievement of equality of educational opportunity is that the people generally have not sensed its deep and fundamental significance to the welfare of the group as a whole.

The old conception was that the child is the "property" of his parents. Very few parents now regard their children as property. They recognize their responsibility for the development and up-bringing of their children as the direct result of their having brought these children into existence. They earnestly and sincerely desire their children to succeed in a very complex social world. This complex social world, it is true, includes the community, the state, and the Nation; but the child is not educated simply on his own account nor on his family's account. Indeed, if it were not for these wider and more complex social relationships, education of the individual would be impossible, and to little purpose even if possible. It is this broader and more comprehensive attitude that it is so hard to establish in the collective thinking and the collective action of the people.

The plan of having the local community exclusively responsible for the public-school facilities has been tried, and always with failure. The state has found it necessary to set up standards of various kinds and to provide supervision. And the Nation has contributed in various ways.

The elemental truth is that our form of social organization is complex and multiple instead of simple and unitary. The community has a relation to the state, the state has a relation to the Nation, the Nation has a relation to the state and to the community. The individual has a relation to the community, state, and Nation. Each of the four factors, individual, community, state, and Nation, is vitally related to each of the others; in fact, the relation is organic in that no one could exist without the other. Our recent participation in the World War has made us keenly conscious of the national aspect of this series of relationships. Every sign to-day points to an ever-increasing primacy of the national factor.

Our Federal Constitution, by silence in its original articles and by the negative of the Tenth Amendment, makes the organization, management, and supervision of public education exclusively a matter of state responsibility. No Constitutional barrier, however, lies against the encouragement of public education by the Federal Government. The numerous instances already cited show this clearly. While the early grants of land were without condition other than that indicated by the expressed purposes of the several acts, the later ones have set up conditions that make the Federal aid contingent. This is as it should be.

If the Federal Government desires to appropriate money to the several states to encourage them to equalize educational opportunities within their own borders, it has a clear right to do it; and in this act the Federal Government may include whatever conditions seem to it reasonable and desirable. The money thus expended is the property of the United States. The method by which this money gets into the treasury of the United States may be a matter of question and argument, for no money was ever raised by any kind of tax that was not thus open to criticism and objection. Such questions lie, however, against the method of taxation rather than against the expenditure of the tax-revenues. Those who point out the need of an additional battleship are not called upon to frame and defend a plan for raising the money, nor is the person who points out the need for repairs to a lighthouse expected to be sufficiently expert in revenue matters to frame a bill that will pay the costs of his proposal.

Any funds voted by Congress in aid of public education will be raised largely by income and corporation taxes. They may come in part from taxes on imports, or taxes on amusements, or on railroad fares, or on checks, drafts, notes, agreements, and deeds; but while there are many possible sources of revenue, it is practically certain that the tax on incomes will be the main source of revenue for governmental purposes. The income tax, since the adoption of the Sixteenth

Amendment, has been as constitutional as the Constitution itself. And the income tax is recognized as vastly more equitable and just than are the forms of taxation now depended upon almost exclusively to support the public schools.

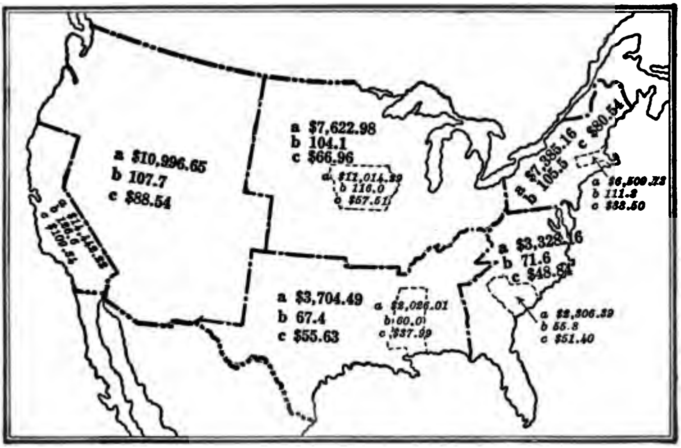

a $10,996.65
b 107.7
c $88.54
a $11,448.33
b 126.6
c $100.54
a $7,622.98
b 104.1
c $66.96
a $11,014.39
b 116.0
c $57.51
a $7,385.16
b 105.5
c $80.54
a $6,509.73
b 111.8
c $88.50
a $3,328.16
b 71.6
c $48.84
a $3,704.49
b 67.4
c $55.63
a $2,026.01
b 60.0
c $37.59
a $2,306.39
b 55.8
c $51.40

FIGURE 5. — (*a*) Amount of taxable wealth behind each person of school age in the several sections of the United States, and in one state of each section; (*b*) Average number of days' attendance by each child, 5–18 (1915–16); and (*c*) Average monthly wage of all teachers (1915–16).

It will be well to have the main facts regarding the wealth of the different states clearly in mind. The following table shows the total wealth in 1912, the *per capita* of wealth, the taxable wealth back of each teacher, and the taxable wealth back of each person of school age. The diagram above shows graphically the main facts of the table on the following page.

	1 Wealth Estimated for 1912	2 Wealth 1912 per Capita 1916	3 Wealth 1912 per Teacher 1915–16	4 Wealth 1912 per Person 6–20 Inclusive 1910
Continental United States:	$174,733,199,730	$1,712.77	$280,754.08	$ 6,296.55
North Atlantic Division	52,333,998,957	1,810.86	342,535.86	7,385.16
North Central Division	67,168,972,568	2,090.93	291,623.13	7,622.98
South Atlantic Division	13,777,891,828	1,036.24	180,301.13	3,328.18
South Central Division	22,030,350,816	1,150.26	207,516.35	3,704.49
Western Division	19,421,985,561	2,272.91	342,654.25	10,996.65
North Atlantic Division:				
Maine	1,030,366,547	1,333.82	147,934.89	5,278.59
New Hampshire	613,441,572	1,386.29	198,975.53	5,495.11
Vermont	496,935,964	1,366.33	166,088.22	5,247.42
Massachusetts	5,735,230,115	1,542.07	327,971.07	6,509.73
Rhode Island	892,693,475	1,453.15	321,923.35	6,027.55
Connecticut	2,153,511,444	1,730.45	335,281.24	7,550.61
New York	21,912,629,507	2,132.95	408,871.11	8,928.60
New Jersey	5,361,917,422	1,818.82	320,286.56	7,567.71
Pennsylvania	14,137,272,911	1,658.91	330,874.45	6,442.71
North Central Division:				
Ohio	8,552,130,667	1,660.49	268,774.24	6,509.41
Indiana	4,951,061,490	1,757.67	251,988.06	6,364.74
Illinois	14,596,467,087	2,372.53	437,491.52	9,032.94
Michigan	5,169,022,582	1,692.06	246,390.32	6,486.51
Wisconsin	4,282,454,539	1,712.74	262,920.83	5,846.00
Minnesota	5,266,950,787	2,310.46	296,012.52	8,118.83
Iowa	7,437,094,834	3,349.55	273,121.36	11,014.29
Missouri	5,546,493,103	1,626.21	274,470.16	5,579.98
North Dakota	2,037,626,024	2,756.52	251,776.35	11,114.16
South Dakota	1,330,693,417	1,905.04	188,563.61	7,232.85
Nebraska	3,605,133,830	2,835.61	285,985.54	9,642.79
Kansas	4,393,844,208	2,401.05	288,253.24	8,529.15
South Atlantic Division:				
Delaware	293,721,979	1,376.52	276,574.36	5,070.11
Maryland	2,002,216,720	1,469.18	309,940.66	5,153.89
District of Columbia	767,316,951	2,108.12	429,388.33	9,682.35
Virginia	2,174,685,192	992.09	165,753.44	3,117.16
West Virginia	2,179,527,639	1,572.48	211,112.71	5,492.51
North Carolina	1,745,233,696	726.35	119,947.33	2,221.57
South Carolina	1,301,406,985	800.63	156,175.08	2,306.39
Georgia	2,299,197,590	805.02	152,811.21	2,483.29
Florida	1,014,585,076	1,135.52	176,941.93	4,159.55
South Central Division:				
Kentucky	2,152,097,565	904.38	167,218.14	2,847.77
Tennessee	1,734,354,927	801.72	141,966.94	2,483.96
Alabama	2,050,014,767	878.85	185,421.01	2,732.05
Mississippi	1,306,384,960	669.36	119,271.88	2,026.01
Louisiana	2,056,572,346	1,124.34	269,855.96	3,571.26
Texas	6,552,242,164	1,479.21	239,500.04	4,804.77
Arkansas	1,757,533,669	1,010.23	164,840.89	3,185.83
Oklahoma	4,321,150,418	1,962.30	339,686.37	7,630.18
Western Division:				
Montana	1,113,008,146	2,422.24	235,258.53	11,869.42
Wyoming	344,834,812	1,920.45	198,752.05	9,638.72
Colorado	478,777	2,376.64	347,859.23	10,590.80
New Mexico	627,424	1,222.63	258,038.79	4,759.13
Arizona	099,365	1,906.12	316,503.81	8,561.07
Utah	811,880	1,692.79	229,270.47	6,072.02
Nevada	382,827	4,135.35	671,815.56	27,360.70
Idaho	073,842	1,379.12	168,589.23	6,104.93
Washington	690,780	1,991.03	328,638.06	10,408.58
[illegible]	542,127	2,205.87	298,646.05	10,505.06
[illegible]	455,581	2,730.30	463,166.63	14,442.22

VARIATIONS IN THE TAXABLE WEALTH

Certain facts of outstanding significance to the equalizing of educational opportunity are revealed by this table:

(1) The wealth *per capita* varies from $669.36 in Mississippi to $4135.35 in Nevada.

(2) The taxable wealth behind each person of school age varies from $2026.01 in Mississippi to $27,360.70 in Nevada, with an average of $6296.55 for the entire country. California can raise $30.00 for the education of each person of school age by a millage one seventh as large as is necessary in Mississippi to raise the same amount. The tax rate in Missouri would have to be twice as great as in Iowa to raise a given sum for each person of school age. Virginia's rate would have to be three times as great as that of the District of Columbia. Oklahoma would have a lower rate than any state in the North Atlantic Division except New York.

The variations shown in the preceding table indicate one reason for the differences in public education among the different states, and suggest that, because of the importance of good public schools to the life and welfare of the Nation, Congress might with propriety appropriate to the several states in proportion to their respective needs and efforts money that has been raised on the basis of ability to pay.

The figures just given are perhaps somewhat difficult to comprehend. The following table reduces the figures to a percentage basis, thus making them easily comparable. Column 1 shows the per cent of wealth (1912) for each state. Column 2 shows the per cent of population (1916) for each state. Column 3 shows the per cent of persons from 6 to 20 years of age inclusive (1910) for each state. The columns should be read across for each state.

Maine has .5896 per cent of the wealth of the country, .7572 per cent of the population, and .7034 per cent of the children of school age.

California has 4.5918 per cent of the wealth of the country, 2.8805 per cent of the population, and 2.0020 per cent of the children of school age.

Iowa has 4.2563 per cent of the wealth of the country, 2.1764 per cent of the population, and 2.4332 per cent of the children of school age.

Mississippi has .7477 per cent of the wealth of the country, 1.9130 per cent of the population, and 2.3235 per cent of the children of school age.

The proposal embodied in the Smith-Towner Bill is obviously not one to equalize the *wealth* of the different states. On the contrary, the purpose is to distribute money, raised on the basis of ability to pay and irrespective of state lines, to the states, $25,000,000 on the basis of the number of persons of school age and $25,000,000 on the basis of the number of teachers employed in the public schools. If the several states increase appropriations by a like amount, a total of

	PER CENT OF WEALTH 1912	PER CENT OF POPULATION 1916	PER CENT OF PERSONS 6–20 YEARS INCLUSIVE 1910
Continental United States:	100.0000	100.0000	100.0000
North Atlantic Division	29.9508	28.3285	25.5359
North Central Division	38.4409	31.4888	31.7520
South Atlantic Division	7.8851	13.0331	14.9177
South Central Division	12.6080	18.7737	21.4299
Western Division	11.1152	8.3759	6.3645
North Atlantic Division:			
Maine	.5896	.7572	.7034
New Hampshire	.3511	.4337	.4023
Vermont	.2844	.3565	.3413
Massachusetts	3.2823	3.6456	3.1748
Rhode Island	.5109	.6022	.5337
Connecticut	1.2325	1.2199	1.0755
New York	12.5406	10.0702	8.8446
New Jersey	3.0686	2.8897	2.5531
Pennsylvania	8.0908	8.3535	7.9072
North Central Division:			
Ohio	4.8944	5.0485	4.7343
Indiana	2.8335	2.7612	2.8031
Illinois	8.3535	6.0306	5.8229
Michigan	2.9582	2.9945	2.8716
Wisconsin	2.4509	2.4509	2.6398
Minnesota	3.0143	2.2345	2.3379
Iowa	4.2563	2.1764	2.4332
Missouri	3.1743	3.3433	3.5819
North Dakota	1.1661	.7246	.6607
South Dakota	.7616	.6847	.6630
Nebraska	2.0632	1.2462	1.3472
Kansas	2.5146	1.7934	1.8564
South Atlantic Division:			
Delaware	.1681	.2092	.2088
Maryland	1.1459	1.3359	1.3999
District of Columbia	.4391	.3568	.2856
Virginia	1.2446	2.1487	2.5140
West Virginia	1.2473	1.3586	1.4299
North Carolina	.9988	2.3552	2.8309
South Carolina	.7448	1.5933	2.0333
Georgia	1.3158	2.7996	3.3364
Florida	.5807	.8758	.8789
South Central Division:			
Kentucky	1.2316	2.3326	2.7232
Tennessee	1.0498	2.2427	2.6611
Alabama	1.1732	2.2865	2.7039
Mississippi	.7477	1.9130	2.3235
Louisiana	1.1770	1.7930	2.0752
Texas	3.7499	4.3419	4.9142
Arkansas	1.0058	1.7054	1.9880
Oklahoma	2.4730	2.1586	2.0408
Western Division:			
Montana	.6371	.4504	.3379
Wyoming	.1973	.1760	.1289
Colorado	1.3086	.9430	.7781
New Mexico	.2871	.4022	.3798
Arizona	.2788	.2505	.2050
Utah	.4205	.4255	.4361
Nevada	.2526	.1046	.0581
Idaho	.3382	.4201	.3489
Washington	1.7482	1.5039	1.0576
Oregon	1.0551	.8192	.6321
California	4.5918	2.8805	2.0020

$100,000,000 annually will be available for equalizing educational opportunities within the several states. The poorest schools are in the poorest communities, — where the best ones ought to be, from the standpoint both of the state and of the Nation. Reasons have already been given for the glaring inequalities of educational opportunity within the several states. Such Federal aid as is here advocated would ultimately remove these inequalities throughout the country.

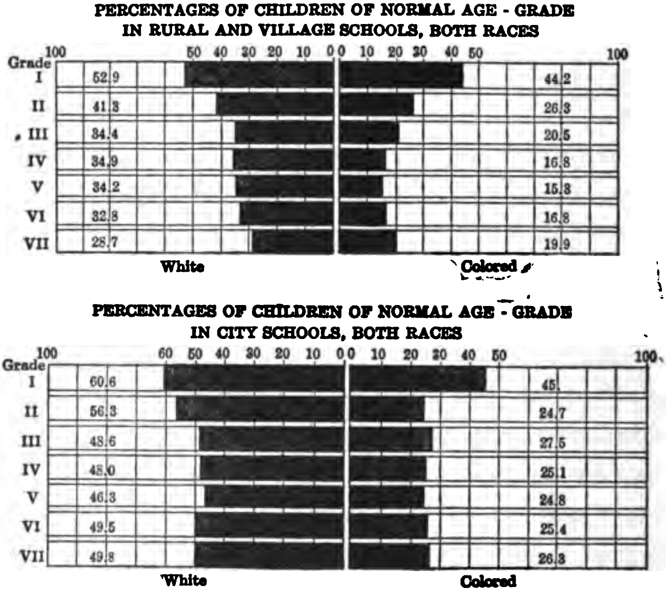
Section 10 of the Smith-Towner Bill provides:

> That in order to encourage the States to equalize educational opportunities, five tenths of the sum authorized to be appropriated by section 7 of this act shall be used in public elementary and secondary schools for the partial payment of teachers' salaries, for providing better instruction and extending school terms, especially in rural schools and schools in sparsely settled localities, and otherwise providing equally good educational opportunities for the children in the several states, and for the extension and adaptation of public libraries for educational purposes. The said sum shall be apportioned to the states, one half in the proportions which the numbers of children between the ages of six and twenty-one of the respective states bear to the total number of such children in the United States, and one half in the proportions which the numbers of public-school teachers employed in teaching positions in the respective states bear to the total number of public-school teachers so employed in the United States, not including outlying possessions, said apportionment to be based upon statistics collected annually by the Department of Education. . . .
>
> *Provided*, *however*, that in order to share in the apportionment provided by this section a state shall establish and maintain the following requirements unless prevented by constitutional limita-

tions, in which case these requirements shall be approximated as nearly as constitutional provisions will permit: (*a*) a legal school term of at least twenty-four weeks in each year for the benefit of all children of school age in such state; (*b*) a compulsory school attendance law requiring all children between the ages of seven and fourteen to attend some school for at least twenty-four weeks in each year; (*c*) a law requiring that the English language shall be the basic language of instruction in the common-school branches in all schools, public and private.

The provision for the partial payment of the salaries of teachers gives to each state an initial leverage on the qualifications of teachers employed in each school. It can pay, for example, $5.00 toward the monthly salary of a teacher with the lowest qualifications, $10.00 per month toward the monthly salary of a teacher with better qualifications, and so on, — thus making it to the financial interest of the local school unit to have teachers with the best possible qualifications. The provision for better instruction and longer terms reënforces the above so that "equally good educational opportunities" may come into existence. The apportionment is made, one half on the basis of the state's educational effort as measured by the number of teachers employed in the public schools, and one half on the basis of the number of persons from 6 to 20 inclusive, — its basal, educational need. This clearly benefits the rural schools, for in the rural districts the proportion of teachers to pupils is higher than in the urban districts; in the rural districts, too, the average family is larger and there are relatively fewer unmarried adults; hence the school population is proportionately larger than in the cities.

The *proviso* sets up the conditions under which a state may share in the fund thus provided. Six months of school, open to all persons of school age in the state, *must* be provided. Compulsory attendance from the age of seven to the age of fourteen for six months is required, — to prevent any increase in illiteracy from the bottom. And, finally, English must be "the basic



PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN OF NORMAL AGE - GRADE IN RURAL AND VILLAGE SCHOOLS, BOTH RACES

PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN OF NORMAL AGE - GRADE IN CITY SCHOOLS, BOTH RACES

FIGURE 6. — Inequalities of education in rural and urban districts of Alabama.[1]

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[1] Taken from *An Educational Study of Alabama*, U. S. Bur. Edn. Bul. 41, 1919, p. 94.

language of instruction in common-school branches in all schools, public and private." This does not preclude the teaching of a foreign language in a public school or in a private school, but it does insure that all who go to school shall have the opportunity and the stimulus to master the language of our country. The states have ample power to control, to the extent indicated, all public and all private schools, and it is to the interest of both the states and the Nation that this reasonable and yet fundamental standard be established.

The way in which the allotment for the equalization of educational opportunities would work is shown in the following table, — the first column showing the distribution of $25,000,000 on the basis of those from six to twenty years of age, and the second showing the distribution of $25,000,000 on the basis of the number of teachers in the public schools. Column 3 shows the total allotment for equalization of educational opportunities to the several states. (See page 276.)

When this provision for the equalization of educational opportunities is written into the Federal law and is accepted by the states, we shall have begun to realize concretely the dream of our forefathers. The wealth of an individual is not wholly the result of his own effort. Barbed wire may be made in no more than twenty mills, but every state in the Union, by buying the product, contributes to the taxable wealth of these twenty centers. Every cash register that is bought in the remotest

ALLOTMENT FOR EQUALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

	ALLOTMENT OF $25,000,000.00 ON BASIS OF PERSONS 6 TO 20 YEARS INCLUSIVE SECTION 10	ALLOTMENT OF $25,000,000.00 ON TEACHER BASIS SECTION 10	TOTAL ALLOTMENT OF $50,000,000.00 FOR EQUALIZATION SECTION 10
Continental United States:	$25,000,000.00	$25,000,000.00	$50,000,000.00
North Atlantic Division	6,383,974.29	6,137,333.28	12,521,307.57
North Central Division	7,938,002.12	9,252,275.76	17,190,277.88
South Atlantic Division	3,729,430.22	3,069,630.72	6,799,060.94
South Central Division	5,357,469.93	4,264,527.54	9,621,997.47
Western Division	1,591,110.79	2,276,875.77	3,867,986.56
Total	24,999,987.35	25,000,643.07	50,000,630.42
North Atlantic Division:			
Maine	175,849.27	279,784.05	455,633.32
New Hampshire	100,568.95	123,844.11	224,413.06
Vermont	85,314.33	120,188.64	205,502.97
Massachusetts	793,697.78	702,452.79	1,496,150.57
Rhode Island	133,422.28	111,391.41	244,813.69
Connecticut	268,871.54	258,011.91	526,883.45
New York	2,211,147.55	2,152,830.81	4,363,978.36
New Jersey	638,296.71	672,485.97	1,310,782.68
Pennsylvania	1,976,805.88	1,716,343.59	3,693,149.47
North Central Division:			
Ohio	1,183,585.56	1,278,169.23	2,461,754.79
Indiana	700,785.42	789,260.16	1,490,045.58
Illinois	1,455,746.22	1,340,231.88	2,795,978.10
Michigan	717,900.36	842,726.43	1,560,626.79
Wisconsin	659,934.97	654,288.96	1,314,223.93
Minnesota	584,469.07	714,744.81	1,299,213.88
Iowa	608,294.67	1,093,829.10	1,702,123.77
Missouri	895,473.91	811,755.36	1,707,229.27
North Dakota	165,163.92	325,095.81	490,259.73
South Dakota	165,743.19	283,479.69	449,222.88
Nebraska	336,810.58	506,383.02	843,193.60
Kansas	464,094.25	612,311.31	1,076,405.56
South Atlantic Division:			
Delaware	52,189.94	42,660.54	94,850.38
Maryland	349,979.65	259,498.20	609,477.85
District of Columbia	71,393.92	71,783.79	143,177.71
Virginia	628,498.72	527,030.40	1,155,529.12
West Virginia	357,485.80	414,715.08	772,200.88
North Carolina	707,716.80	584,473.50	1,292,190.30
South Carolina	508,331.11	334,736.61	843,067.72
Georgia	834,094.19	604,397.82	1,438,492.01
Florida	219,740.19	230,334.78	450,074.97
South Central Division:			
Kentucky	680,803.88	516,987.90	1,197,791.78
Tennessee	665,280.80	519,036.57	1,184,317.37
Alabama	675,982.36	444,119.52	1,120,101.88
Mississippi	580,892.57	439,982.01	1,020,874.58
Louisiana	518,786.74	306,135.57	824,922.31
Texas	1,228,543.13	1,098,970.86	2,327,513.99
Arkansas	496,990.82	428,292.54	925,283.36
Oklahoma	510,189.63	511,002.57	1,021,192.20
Western Division:			
Montana	84,476.51	190,044.27	274,520.78
Wyoming	32,229.92	69,694.95	101,924.87
Colorado	194,536.24	264,037.41	458,573.65
New Mexico	94,955.56	78,090.48	173,046.04
Arizona	51,257.43	61,821.63	113,079.06
Utah	109,021.02	128,744.85	237,765.87
Nevada	14,533.01	26,391.69	40,924.70
Idaho	87,222.39	140,836.02	228,058.41
Washington	264,388.75	373,380.15	637,768.90
Oregon	158,001.92	247,969.41	405,971.33
California	500,488.04	695,864.91	1,196,352.95

hamlet helps make Dayton. Forty thousand automobile tires made in a day is the proud boast of a factory, but if people throughout the country did not buy the tires, there would be no profit.

When the Federal Government, on behalf of the Nation, writes this equalization feature of the Smith-Towner Bill into law, the several states will be glad to undertake the great task of equalizing educational opportunities by increasing the quantity and quality of the work of what are now our weakest schools. This will not involve in any way the limitation of those schools that are now our best and strongest ones. The "square deal" will be realized. All will gain. None will lose.

In 1838, a convention met in New Jersey to combat the "pauper-school" idea. It issued an address to the people of the state. In the address was the following paragraph which may fittingly conclude this chapter:

"We utterly repudiate as unworthy, not of freemen only, but of men, the narrow notion that there is to be an education for the poor as such. Has God provided for the poor a coarser earth, a thinner air, a paler sky? . . . Or is it on the mind that God has stamped the imprint of a baser birth so that the poor man's child knows with an inborn certainty that his lot is to crawl, not climb? It is not so. God has not done it. Man cannot do it. Mind is immortal. Mind is imperial. It bears no mark of high or low, of rich or poor. It asks but freedom. It requires but light."

CHAPTER XXI

THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

CHAPTER XIX set forth the more important of the deficiencies in the personnel of public-school service from the national point of view. Emphasis was there placed chiefly upon (1) the public attitude which looks upon teaching, especially in the lower schools, as a temporary and casual occupation, and which consequently permits this service to be devoid of the recognitions and rewards that its significance to the Nation demands; (2) the results of this attitude as expressed in the present shortage of teachers, the "factory" plan of educational administration, and the relatively low efficiency of the schools as a whole; and (3) the inadequacy of existing agencies for the preparation of teachers, — an inadequacy due in large part to the public attitude just referred to which naturally minimizes the importance of prolonged and serious preparation and permits four fifths of the teaching positions to be filled by essentially untrained teachers. The present chapter will outline a constructive program for the remedy of this fundamental weakness in American education.

Baldly stated, this program looks forward to a condition so far removed from that which now prevails that the prospects of its realization may seem to the reader to be hopelessly Utopian. As a matter of fact, the program is far from impracticable; it can be realized with an infinitesimal part of the effort that the people put forth to save democracy; — and its realization is an indispensable condition in the paramount task that now lies before the Nation, — the task of safeguarding the great gains that have cost so much. It means nothing more revolutionary than *to give to every child in the land a teacher who has been especially selected and especially prepared to meet his or her educational needs.* Nothing short of this, we may be sure, will meet the educational needs of the Nation.

TEACHING AS NATIONAL SERVICE

This program will involve primarily a complete reversal of the public attitude toward teaching, and especially toward teaching in the elementary graded and rural schools. It is here that the Nation's chief problem lies. The colleges and the universities must not be neglected, — nor will they be neglected. They already have the "ear of the people" and they will not sacrifice their interests in any measure by aiding in every possible way the cause of the lower schools. Indeed, until the problem of the lower schools is solved, their own work will be handicapped. To make elementary and secondary education yield the largest possible returns will mean not only a heavier enrollment in the higher institutions but a vastly improved student body. The selection of the talent available for "leadership" will operate upon a much wider basis, and it is to the training of leaders that the colleges and universities have always directed their energies.

From the Nation's point of view, however, competent leadership, while an indispensable element in a successful democracy, is only one element. The essential difference between democracy and autocracy lies at precisely this point. The fundamental characteristic of democracy is that its leadership must be continually subject to evaluation by the "rank and file" with whom the final decision on every collective enterprise must rest. *The more intelligent this evaluation, the more effective and stable the democracy.* Leadership will always emerge; as Galton pointed out fifty years ago, practically nothing short of premature death will keep true genius from coming into its own; and even talent that fails to reach the plane of genius is likely to overcome apparently insuperable handicaps. This does not constitute an argument for the neglect of higher education, for talent and even genius must be trained to insure the most effective results; but to urge higher education as more fundamental than universal elementary education is to deny the first principle of democracy. Leadership will always emerge, but the intelligent evaluation of leadership by the masses of the people depends in every case upon the development of the highest possible level of trained and informed intelligence among the people as a whole. The fundamental educational problem of democracy is the problem of the common schools. The fundamental problem of the common schools is to insure for every child a competent teacher.

THE PREVAILING NEGLECT OF THE NORMAL SCHOOLS

To establish this principle firmly, it must be crystallized in a tangible form. This can be done most quickly, most readily, and most effectively through measures that will place upon their proper plane the institutions for the preparation of teachers, and especially the institutions that prepare teachers for the elementary and rural-school service, — the normal schools.

The outstanding inadequacies of these institutions have already been pointed out.[1] These inadequacies are only too consistent with the low status of the teacher's calling, — but one way to raise the status is to remove the inadequacies. If the position that we have just taken is valid, — if the most important servants of democracy are the teachers of the common schools, — then the institutions which train, instruct, and prepare these servants should be the most attractive, the most carefully organized, and relatively the most generously supported of all the institutions of higher and professional education. At the present time, their status is precisely the reverse of this: they are the least attractive of all professional schools; their organization, particularly with respect to their courses of study, is a generation behind that of professional schools in the fields of law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, engineering, and nursing; their support from the public treasuries is far less in proportion to their enrollment than that of other professional schools supported by public funds.[1]

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[1] See Chapter XIX.

It is very largely because of the meager support of the normal schools that they are so poorly attended, especially in times of material prosperity. In spite of the devotion of their faculties, — and in no field of education are the teachers so generally and so thoroughly consecrated to their work, — the normal schools are almost everywhere regarded by ambitious youth as "cheap" institutions, to be shunned if one has the barest opportunity to go elsewhere. This is due in part to the unattractiveness of the service for which the normal schools prepare; but it is also due in part to the brief terms, to the low entrance requirements, and to the congested and ill-organized curriculum that is inevitable when an institution attempts in two years or less to prepare students for the wide range of duties that elementary and rural-school teaching involves.[1]

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[1] "It seems, then, that the public provides for those instructors who prepare teachers for the public schools a lower compensation by about one third than it provides for those who prepare professional and technical workers in other fields. It also asks the former to carry a heavier load than the latter, both in terms of periods of classwork each week and in terms of ratio of instructors to students." — *N. E. A. Commission Series No. 3*, Washington, 1918, p. 9. This pamphlet gives in detail the data upon which this and other conclusions quoted in the present chapter are based.

These are hard words, but it would be little less than criminal to "whitewash" defects and deficiencies upon the correction of which every hope of a triumphant democracy ultimately rests.

THE SMITH-TOWNER PROVISIONS FOR THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

One of the important features of the Smith-Towner Bill is its provision for remedying this situation. Section 12 reads as follows:

> "That in order to encourage the states in the preparation of teachers for public-school service, particularly in rural schools, three-twentieths of the sum authorized to be appropriated by section 7 of this act shall be used to provide and extend facilities for the improvement of teachers already in service and for the more adequate preparation of prospective teachers and to provide an increased number of trained and competent teachers by encouraging, through the establishment of scholarships and otherwise, a greater number of talented young people to undertake preparation for public-school service. The said sum shall

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[1] One of the writers of this book has more than once caused merriment by announcing to groups of young women that some day it would be deemed more of a distinction to graduate from a normal school than to graduate from any one of the four or five famous women's colleges. And yet until this prediction comes true, the public-school service will not have reached the plane that it must attain if the Nation's problems are to be solved.

be apportioned to the states in the proportions which the numbers of public-school teachers employed in teaching positions in the respective states bear to the total number of teachers in the United States, not including outlying possessions, said apportionments to be based on statistics collected annually by the Department of Education."

If the bill becomes a law, there will be available for the preparation of teachers $15,000,000. This money will be used by the states chiefly in extending and improving the work of the state and city normal schools and of teacher-training departments in state colleges and universities. Where a state is not providing for the preparation of teachers a sum equal to its Federal allotment for that purpose, it will be required by the terms of the bill, if it accepts the full Federal appropriation, to add from its own resources a sum sufficient to make the two amounts equal. It is clear, then, that an annual fund of $30,000,000 will be available for the purposes in question. This will practically double the present resources of the institutions concerned.

There is, however, every reason to believe that national stimulation will incite the states to still more generous appropriations. This has been the result in the earlier instances of national aid, and especially in the subsidizing of the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts.

With these greatly increased resources as a basis, the normal schools can proceed at once to the development of adequate programs. Such programs, indeed, are already under construction and upon their main features there is general agreement throughout the country. They contemplate the extension of the period of training at first to three and later to four years following high-school graduation; a decided increase in the salaries and qualifications of normal-school instructors; and a much better organization of materials, particularly in the increased emphasis of the "laboratory" element in preparing teachers — that is, the provision of demonstration schools, experimental schools, and practice schools.

As a basis for a radical extension of the period of training, it is, of course, essential that the material rewards of public-school service be greatly increased. The appropriation for the "equalization of educational opportunities" will contribute $50,000,000 annually toward this end; and while the sum is relatively small (adding less than $100 to the salary of each teacher), it will operate upon the basis of a public sentiment already alive to the imperative need of raising teachers' salaries. With longer and better preparation once well started, the material rewards will tend almost automatically to increase. Efficient service, instead of being restricted to isolated instances or at most to insulated communities, will gradually become more and more general; the real value of preparation in promoting efficiency, — a value which is now obscured because the work of the mature and highly trained teacher is swamped by the poor results of his immature and untrained colleagues, — will be increasingly recognized; with this will come a discrimination that is now lacking and the opening of opportunities for the operation of supply and demand that public-school service has never yet afforded.

THE "WEST POINT" POLICY APPLIED TO NORMAL SCHOOLS

Of large significance is the provision of the Smith-Towner Bill permitting the states to use a portion of the appropriation for the preparation of teachers in the payment of "scholarships" to especially promising students. The essential justice and the imperative need of this policy are set forth by the Emergency Commission[1] of the National Education Association as follows:

> "Federal coöperation may well make it possible for the states to grant scholarships to exceptionally competent students, thus insuring a higher level of ability in the teaching population. . . .
>
> "There are three professions, each fundamentally significant to social welfare and progress, that are alike in another important respect. Teaching, the ministry, and the army and navy service are salaried professions. The opportunities of relatively large financial rewards are not comparable in any sense to the opportunities afforded by such professions as law, medicine, and engineering, to say nothing of the opportunities afforded by business and industry.
>
> "The individual student who might otherwise wish to prepare himself adequately for teaching is likely to be discouraged by the

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[1] *Commission Series No. 3*, pp. 12–13.

relatively small financial returns that he must expect from his investment. On the other hand, if he wishes to enter the service of public defense as an officer in the army or the navy, and if he is successful in securing an appointment at West Point or Annapolis and competent to meet the entrance requirements, the Government will not only provide him with board and tuition during his period of preparation but will also pay him an annual stipend of $600. The Federal Government has thus established the precedent of educating at public expense well qualified candidates for an important type of public service that cannot hope to compete with business and industry in financial rewards.

"If the individual wishes to enter the ministry, he will find that scholarships ample to cover his living expenses at a theological seminary are available to qualified candidates.

"There are, in general, no such subsidies for students who would seek service in the public schools. But the precedent has been established in institutions preparing for a type of service closely related to teaching. Every great university offers scholarships for advanced students who wish to enter one or another of the many divisions of research and investigation. Nor is this practice limited to privately-endowed universities; many tax-supported universities pay stipends to graduate students from funds raised by public taxation.

"It is clear, then, that there is abundant precedent for providing scholarships for competent students wishing to prepare for public school service; it is clear, also, that there is ample precedent for providing such scholarships from public funds.

"Teaching is numerically the largest of all professional callings requiring more practitioners than medicine, law, and theology combined. Teachers are to-day recruited in largest numbers from families that cannot afford to send their children to professional schools for extended terms of preparatory work, especially when that work holds out no promise of large financial rewards that might otherwise justify the investment. In view of the large number of teachers required in the public school (the number will soon be three quarters of a million), it is doubtful whether all positions could be filled if adequate training were demanded and if the type of family now furnishing the typical teacher were consequently excluded as a source of available supply.

"Coffman found in 1911 that the typical (or median) woman teacher came from a family having an income of not more than $800 a year, and a family, too, with a larger number of children than the average family in the United States. To demand a longer term of preparation at the expense of the individual would automatically prevent the recruiting of teachers from fully one half of the families that are now the chief source of supply.[1]

"The natural consequence of this condition is a continual pressure that resists the raising of standards for licensing or certificating teachers; and this explains why, in a country so rich as ours and so sincerely committed to the policy of public education, the teachers of the public schools represent in general a low level of maturity, general education, and professional preparation.

"The obvious remedy is to insure (1) better facilities for preparing teachers, (2) higher standards of certification, (3) a much higher scale of salaries, and (4) a system of scholarships that will still keep the profession open to the best talent from the families that now supply the majority of teachers."

It is clear from our earlier discussions that public education in the several states would not have developed so rapidly as it has developed without the stimulating effect of the national grants. It is equally evident that no state public-school system is complete unless it has adequate facilities for the preparation of teachers. Almost all states by law declare their normal schools to be a part of the public-school system, and all teacher-preparation agencies are, in fact if not in law, integral parts of the public-school system. There was a time when private normal schools — joint stock corporations organized for profit — flourished, but that time, fortunately, has passed. All the states have recognized, through the establishment of publicly supported normal schools, the prime importance of well-prepared teachers, but in no state does the normal-school system even approximate adequacy to its fundamental and difficult task.

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[1] Coffman: *The Social Composition of the Teaching Population.*

It is undeniable, therefore, that the Nation, which has by grants encouraged the states to establish public schools, has now the duty of stimulating the states by further grants to go forward in teacher-preparation programs until there is an adequately prepared teacher in every schoolroom in the Nation.

It is a well-established fact that normal-school graduates teach much longer than the average teacher. While the average teaching life of all teachers is between four and five years, normal-school graduates, even under existing conditions, serve between eight and nine years. If five years be the average length of service, we shall need 120,000 beginning teachers each year. If nine years be the average length of service, we shall need 66,000 beginning teachers each year. There are now more than two hundred fifty state normal schools and city training schools in the United States. If they could be brought up to the point at which each would graduate two hundred sixty-four persons each year,[1] in a very short while the demand would be met. This calculation omits from consideration the fact that the mere increase of the school population of the United States requires about 12,000 additional teachers each year, but we have left out of account, on the other hand, the institutions in addition to normal schools that prepare teachers for the public schools. Higher standards will mean a longer preparation; they will mean a better preparation. The results of school work will be improved; pupils will progress more rapidly and remain in school longer.

The following table shows the number of public-school teachers in each state, the proportion of teachers to the total population and to the school population (6 to 20), the average annual salaries of teachers (public schools, 1915–16), and the millage on the wealth (1912) of each state required to pay the salaries of teachers (for 1915–16).

No state in the Union has ever in the past had a well-prepared teacher for every schoolroom and no state is now in that happy condition. It does not require a prophet to predict that, with the economic burdens which the war has brought, the states will tend to reduce relatively if not absolutely their expenditures for teacher-preparation. There is, indeed, a marked tendency to-day toward lower standards of certification.

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[1] It would, however, be necessary to have more normal schools. To graduate 264 teachers each year would be impossible for most of the normal schools because of the limited facilities for practice teaching in the small communities in which they are located.

	Number of Public School Teachers 1915–16	Population (1916) per Teacher 1915–16	School Population ('10) per Teacher 1915–16	Average Annual Salary of Teachers 1915–16	Average Millage on Wealth (1912) to Pay Average Annual Salary of Teachers
Continental United States	622,371	163.91	44.58	$563.08	2.00
North Atlantic Division	152,784	189.15	46.38	728.56	2.12
North Central Division	230,328	139.47	38.25	569.65	1.95
South Atlantic Division	76,416	173.99	54.17	342.39	1.89
South Central Division	106,162	187.47	56.01	413.58	1.99
Western Division	56,681	150.75	31.15	797.47	2.32
North Atlantic Division:					
Maine	6,965	110.91	28.02	430.24	2.90
New Hampshire	3,083	143.53	36.20	486.80	2.44
Vermont	2,992	121.55	31.65	422.72	2.54
Massachusetts	17,487	212.67	50.38	800.18	2.43
Rhode Island	2,773	221.53	53.40	721.91	2.24
Connecticut	6,423	193.75	46.46	624.35	1.87
New York	53,593	191.69	45.79	967.20	2.36
New Jersey	16,741	176.09	42.32	872.34	2.72
Pennsylvania	42,727	199.45	51.35	470.18	1.42
North Central Division:					
Ohio	31,819	161.86	41.29	528.88	1.96
Indiana	19,648	143.36	39.59	580.32	2.36
Illinois	33,364	184.39	48.43	750.85	1.71
Michigan	20,979	145.61	37.98	605.47	2.45
Wisconsin	16,288	153.50	44.97	545.00	2.07
Minnesota	17,793	128.11	36.46	521.52	1.76
Iowa	27,230	81.53	24.79	517.05	1.89
Missouri	20,208	168.77	49.18	559.74	2.03
North Dakota	8,093	91.33	22.65	574.76	2.20
South Dakota	7,057	98.98	26.07	433.71	2.21
Nebraska	12,606	100.85	29.65	438.45	1.53
Kansas	15,243	120.02	33.79	572.60	1.98
South Atlantic Division:					
Delaware	1,062	200.92	54.55	358.31	1.29
Maryland	6,460	210.96	60.13	561.06	1.81
District of Columbia	1,787	203.68	44.34	999.84	2.32
Virginia	13,120	167.07	53.17	341.90	2.06
West Virginia	10,324	134.25	38.43	348.93	1.65
North Carolina	14,550	165.13	53.99	264.36	2.20
South Carolina	8,333	195.06	67.71	293.99	1.88
Georgia	15,046	189.82	61.53	304.31	1.99
Florida	5,734	155.82	42.53	363.09	2.05
South Central Division:					
Kentucky	12,870	184.89	58.71	376.75	2.25
Tennessee	12,921	177.07	57.16	332.52	2.34
Alabama	11,056	210.98	67.86	344.00	1.85
Mississippi	10,953	178.18	58.86	233.64	1.95
Louisiana	7,621	240.01	75.56	425.95	1.57
Texas	27,358	161.54	49.84	572.52	2.38
Arkansas	10,662	163.17	51.74	334.94	2.03
Oklahoma	12,721	173.10	44.51	488.45	1.43
Western Division:					
Montana	4,731	97.12	19.82	702.43	2.98
Wyoming	1,735	103.49	20.62	500.39	2.51
Colorado	6,573	146.35	32.85	632.85	1.81
New Mexico	1,944	211.05	54.21	546.03	2.11
Arizona	1,539	166.04	36.96	770.40	2.43
Utah	3,205	135.43	37.75	724.92	3.16
Nevada	657	162.45	24.55	782.86	1.16
Idaho	3,506	122.24	27.61	742.81	4.40
Washington	9,295	165.05	31.57	866.58	2.63
Oregon	6,173	135.38	28.41	650.41	2.17
California	17,323	169.63	32.07	998.45	2.15

Certainly states will not, on their own initiative and without a strong national urge, undertake the vast extensions that the needs of the Nation demand. The statesmanlike policy is to set up an inducement, — the acceptance of which will lead the several states to move forward toward the realization of a teacher situation that will benefit the state itself and the Nation as a whole. There is no expenditure that the Federal Government could possibly make that would bring greater benefits nationally than would flow from an appropriation sufficient in amount to induce the states to assure for every child the beneficent influence of a well-prepared teacher.

As a Nation, we have shown ourselves sensible in many a crisis. We may gain the whole world in an economic sense and lose our own souls in a social and spiritual sense. The backwash of the war will entail hardship and taxes; the materials used in war must be paid for out of the proceeds of human labor; but it would be shortsighted, indeed, to take one penny of it from the opportunity to which every child is entitled. It would be equally shortsighted not to give every penny that is necessary to provide for every boy and girl the opportunity to become a worthy member of that civilization which has been saved at so great a cost of blood and treasure. This opportunity can come only to those boys and girls who are privileged to have teachers "with the wisest heads and the warmest hearts."

CHAPTER XXII

A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE preceding analyses of educational defects from the national point of view and the remedial measures that have been proposed render necessary an examination of the organization by which it is proposed to carry forward the Nation's part of the great educational movement embodied in the Smith-Towner Bill. It has been repeatedly shown that the provisions of this bill do not interfere with the exclusive right of the several states to organize, supervise, and administer public education. The clear and unmistakable intent and plan of the bill is to promote education of certain types that bear a causal relation to national welfare *without dominating education in any way.* Therefore, the educational machinery necessary to make the proposals effective should be in harmony with this fundamental purpose.[1]

The bill creates an executive department in the government to be known as the Department of Education and provides for the appointment of a Secretary of Education who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet. The Bureau of Education is transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Education and the transfer of other educational activities of the Federal Government to the Department of Education by Congressional action or by Executive order is provided for. The powers, duties, responsibilities, property, records, and personnel of these transferred activities are centered, after transfer, in the Department of Education.

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[1] See Appendix C for the complete text of the Smith-Towner Bill.

This plan follows the precedent by which executive departments of our government have been created. Originally, there were only four executive departments; these were attached to the portfolios of State, Treasury, War, and Justice. Additional departments have been created in the following order: Navy, 1798; Post Office, 1829; Interior, 1849; Agriculture, 1889; Commerce and Labor, 1903; Labor, 1913. Of the ten existing departments, the first seven are genuine executive departments of government arising out of the constitutional sovereignty of the Nation; the remaining three are executive departments representing fundamental types of national interest that are not based on sovereign powers.

The real purpose back of the creation of each of these executive departments has been to secure a more effective realization of national interests. Our Nation has grown and developed at a most remarkable rate. The federal form of government limits, in many ways, the exercise of national power. Therefore, and fortunately, the government has resorted to leadership as a constitutional substitute for the direct exercise of power.

Congress has no direct power to control agriculture nor has there ever been a serious proposal that it should have this power. Agriculture, however, bears a vital relation to national welfare. Everyone has an interest in having the farms as productive as possible. Therefore, the national endeavor should be, and is, to promote agriculture. Over and beyond all that colleges of agriculture, experiment stations, and agricultural extension agencies can do, there is a field in which the Department of Agriculture promotes the national interest by encouraging and stimulating agricultural activities. Control of agriculture is not sought; it is as undesirable as it is impossible.

What has just been said is substantially true of the fundamental purpose and work of the Department of Commerce and the Department of Labor. Each has a large responsibility in leadership and only very limited powers.

The more important arguments for a Department of Education and for a Secretary of Education in the President's Cabinet may be briefly stated:

1. Under the budget-system which will soon be adopted by the Federal Government, the schedules of revenues and expenditures will be prepared in the President's Cabinet for presentation to Congress. If Federal appropriations of the magnitude contemplated

in the Smith-Towner Bill are to be made for public education, there should be in the President's Cabinet a person whose especial responsibility it will be to see that the just claims of education are neither overlooked nor minimized. If the educational needs of the Nation are represented by another Department, such as the Department of the Interior, they clearly will not be given the exclusive consideration of a Cabinet officer, nor will their significance appear in true proportion either to the Cabinet that prepares the budget or to Congress which will use the budget as a basis for its appropriation measures.

2. A Federal Department of Education is needed to integrate the various activities of an educational character in which the Federal Government is already engaged. This does not mean that the executive departments now undertaking educational work, — the Army, the Navy, the Federal Treasury, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, and the Department of Labor, — should turn over their educational work to the proposed Department of Education. There should be in the President's Cabinet, however, a person who is responsible to no one less important than the President himself and who will be officially competent to confer with other department heads regarding their educational undertakings and to point out to them, to the President, and to Congress, the effect of every educational undertaking upon

the educational welfare of the country as a whole. The deleterious influence upon the schools of the uncoördinated efforts of Governmental agencies to promote war measures through the agency of the educational institutions has already been referred to.[1] But the war only brought into high relief the difficulties involved in a series of relationships that were instituted long before and that will be multiplied in the future. A coördinating agency is imperatively needed; that a small bureau in one of the existing departments cannot discharge this important function is clear from the failure of the present Bureau of Education to meet the need during the war. The other departments will not respect such a bureau; Congress will not respect it; an executive department coördinate in rank with the other executive departments alone can command and secure this respect.

3. A Department of Education is needed to coördinate and integrate the educational forces of the Nation. In discharging this function, leadership and not law must be the potent force. One of the first steps that a Secretary of Education would take would be to call a conference of the chief educational officers of the several states for the consideration of national educational policies. Any policies that this conference adopted affecting state and local education could be carried into effect, of course, only through coöperative

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[1] See above, p. 129.

state action. With the prestige attaching to a Department of Education, the leadership essential to this, the only method of working out the Nation's educational problems, would come most readily; *and yet not so readily that the Secretary of Education could become in any sense an educational dictator.* Whatever plans this official proposed would be subject to correction, even to rejection, by the conference; only a true leader with convincing policies could wield a lasting influence. But the best leader and the most convincing policies would be seriously handicapped without the prestige which a Federal portfolio would provide. If the state officers after having come to an agreement in conference could go back to their legislatures with well-matured plans that had the sanction of a recognized Federal department, the chances that their proposals would receive adequate attention would be greatly increased; while the Secretary of Education, having the backing of this representative group, could, in his turn, make a strong appeal to the President and to Congress for whatever Federal legislation the conference might propose.

In a similar fashion, the Secretary of Education would call together the superintendents of city schools, the leaders in rural education, the presidents of the state universities and of the land-grant colleges, the presidents of the state and city normal schools, and other groups representing in the several states educational interests that have an important national bearing.

Through leadership of this type every significant value of a Federal system of education could be realized without imposing upon the country a centralized and necessarily autocratic school administration.

4. A Federal Department of Education is needed to represent the people and the Government of the United States in the solution of international educational problems. Under the League of Nations, these problems will inevitably become matters of large importance in the future. Educational commissions from foreign nations visit the country every year; these commissions have increased in number and importance since the close of the Great War; they will be even more numerous and vastly more important in the years that lie ahead. Up to the present time, the provisions for the reception and entertainment of these commissions have been patriotically undertaken by private and philanthropic agencies, — largely because we have had no national educational official of the rank and prestige which relationships of this sort demand. International educational conferences are also clearly predictable; plans, indeed, for an important conference were initiated by European educators in 1919, and the United States would have been asked to call such a conference had not our delay in ratifying the peace treaty and joining the League of Nations caused an indefinite postponement of the enterprise. Such conferences, however, will play an important part in establishing the new world order,

and for appropriate participation in them the creation of a Federal Department of Education is imperative.

5. Above and beyond all other considerations, a Federal Department is needed to give to education the status, the dignity, and the influence that it should have in a great democracy. It is needed to put the seal of the Nation's approval upon the most important enterprise in which the people as a whole can engage. As has been repeatedly pointed out in the preceding chapters, we cannot consistently be a Nation in every other collective interest, and still remain in education forty-eight separate and distinct entities. The price that we have paid for our failure to have education adequately reflected in our national life has already been counted up in the heavy toll of illiteracy, limited literacy, health deficiencies, and alienism. National subventions to the states will do much to remedy these national weaknesses; but, taken by themselves, they will be an incomplete solution of the problem. To meet the final condition there must be in our government a Department of Education second in significance to no other department, and subordinate in rank, prestige, and influence to no official less important than the President himself.

Those who suggest the creation of a Federal Board of Education with a Commissioner elected by this Board as the titular head of American education have based their arguments very largely upon an alleged analogy between the Federal Government's participation in education and the administration of state and local school systems. In the latter case, the "lay" board, employing a professional executive, represents undoubtedly the best administrative agency. But the Federal Government is to exercise no function even remotely analogous to those of a state or local Board of Education. It will not control schools, appoint teachers, adopt courses of study, build schoolhouses, approve textbooks, or enforce compulsory attendance laws. Indeed, the critics have quite overlooked the duties that the Secretary of Education would discharge under the terms of the Smith-Towner Bill:

> "That it shall be the duty of the department of education to conduct studies and investigations in the field of education and to report thereon. Research shall be undertaken in (*a*) illiteracy; (*b*) immigrant education; (*c*) public-school education, and especially rural education; (*d*) physical education, including health education, recreation and sanitation; (*e*) preparation and supply of competent teachers for the public schools; and (*f*) in such other fields as, in the judgment of the secretary of education, may require attention and study.
>
> "In order to carry out the provisions of this section the secretary of education is authorized, in the same manner as provided for appointments in other departments, to make appointments, or recommendations of appointments, of educational attachés to foreign embassies, and of such investigators and representatives as may be needed, subject to the appropriations that have been made or may hereafter be made to any office, bureau, division, board, or branch of the Government, transferred in accordance with the provisions of this act to the department of education; and where appropriations have not been made therefor the appropriation provided in section six of this act shall be available."

"To conduct studies and investigations in the field of education and to report thereon" is not an executive function in the ordinary sense of that term. Certain fields for study are specified and other fields are left to the discretion of the Secretary of Education. To hold educational conferences for the consideration of educational problems; to send educational attachés to foreign embassies to study and report upon educational organization, methods, and results; to make available to the states and to the public generally information about education, — this is educational leadership. It is in reality an extension and improvement of a kind of work that the Nation has carried on in an ineffective way for many years.

It may be worth while to see just what additional authority the Secretary of Education is given by the terms of the Smith-Towner Bill.

(1) The Secretary of Education "is to apportion to said state" (the report of which shows that it is prepared to carry out the provisions of the act with respect to any one or more of the specified apportionments) "for the fiscal year . . . such funds as said state may be entitled to receive under the provisions of this act, and shall certify . . . [the same] . . . to the Secretary of the Treasury; *Provided*, That this act shall not be construed to require uniformity of plans, means, or methods in the several states in order to secure the benefits herein provided, except as specifically stated herein: *And provided further*, That all the educational facilities encouraged by the provisions of this act and accepted by a state shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally constituted state and local educational authorities of

said state, and the Secretary of Education shall exercise no authority in relation thereto except as herein provided to insure that all funds apportioned to said state shall be used for the purposes for which they are appropriated, and in accordance with the provisions of this act accepted by said state." (Section 14.)

(2) "The secretary of education is authorized to prescribe plans for keeping accounts of the expenditures of such funds as may be apportioned to the states under the provisions of this act, and to audit such accounts. The Secretary of Education may withhold the apportionment or apportionments of any state for the next ensuing fiscal year whenever he shall determine that such apportionment or apportionments made to said state for the current fiscal year are not being expended in accordance with the provisions of this act: *Provided, however*, That before withholding any such apportionment from any state, as herein provided, the secretary of education shall give due notice in writing to the chief educational authority designated to represent said state, stating specifically wherein said state fails to comply with the provisions of this act." (Section 15, first paragraph.)

(3) "That the chief educational authority designated to represent any state receiving the benefits of this act shall, not later than September 1 of each year, make a report to the Secretary of Education showing the work done in said state in carrying out the provisions of this act, and the receipts and expenditures of money apportioned to said state under the provisions of this act. If the chief educational authority designated to represent any state shall fail to report as herein provided, the Secretary of Education shall notify the Secretary of the Treasury to discontinue the payment of all apportionments to said state until such report shall have been made." (Section 17.)

The three quotations given define the authority of the Secretary of Education as this authority is created by the Smith-Towner Bill. In a last analysis, this authority is given to the Secretary of Education for the single purpose of safeguarding the national interest in having the subventions provided in the bill administered honestly. Anything less is unthinkable: anything more is unwise.

It should now be evident that all fears of "domination from Washington" are unfounded. It is equally evident that all arguments for a Federal Board of Education in place of a Department of Education are founded on an assumed analogy of the type of educational organization suited to the educational activities of a state, — an analogy that breaks down since the Smith-Towner Bill does not contemplate charging the Secretary of Education with the administration even of the public-school system of the city of Washington.[1] The great function of the Department of Education is intelligent leadership as this is based on conference, counsel, information, research, and report. Even if Congress should never grant an additional dollar for the promotion of education, a Department of Education should be created in order to unify, coördinate, and make more effective the educational projects it has already set in motion. If the Smith-Towner Bill subventions in aid of education are established by Congress, the Department of Education should be charged with their allotment to the several states. Such subventions are clearly consistent with historic precedent, and a Department of Education, rather than a National Board of Education, is in harmony with historic method of safeguarding and advancing national interests in fields to which the sovereignty of the United States does not extend.

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[1] Congress very properly administers the public-school system of Washington through a board. It also very properly distributes its money grants to colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts and its aid for agricultural experiment stations, agricultural extension, farmers' institutes, etc., through its executive departments.

Any analogy between the Federal Board for Vocational Education for the administration of the provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act and a Federal Board of Education to administer the provisions of the Smith-Towner Bill is faulty. In vocational education of the types provided in the Smith-Hughes Act there was, and still is, opportunity of misunderstanding between capital and labor and it was therefore desirable to have each of these organized groups represented on a managing board so that each might have equal voice in determining policies, and so that each might report to its own group. Because of the foregoing arrangement, it became imperative that the general public should also have representation on the board for vocational education. The purpose of the Smith-Towner Bill — the promotion of public education in the states — cannot be misunderstood or misconstrued by any group; and, therefore, its successful administration does not demand a board representative of possibly conflicting interests.

It should be noted also that the Smith-Hughes Act gave to the Federal Board for Vocational Education far greater powers within the states than the Smith-Towner Bill gives to the Secretary of Education. The primary reason for this difference in power is that in the case of vocational education it was sought to establish a new type of education, while in the Smith-Towner Bill it is sought to stimulate the states to greater and more effective activity in fields of educational work in which the states are already engaged or with which they are reasonably familiar.

A Department of Education makes necessary a Secretary of Education who will be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This brings us to an objection that is expressed by the word *politics*. It is said that a President would probably appoint as Secretary of Education a member of his own political party. Instances are so clear and so recent that *probably* is the strongest word that can be used. The assertion is not true with respect to those who have served as Commissioners of Education, nor is it true with respect to appointments by Governors to remotely analogous positions. It is reasonable to assume that a President would honestly desire to find the most capable man for the Secretaryship of Education and that he would make every possible effort to find such a man without making previous partisan service a prerequisite for appointment. With this reasonable assurance, the party affiliation of the person appointed becomes insignificant. It cannot be truthfully asserted that those who have thus received executive appointments in the past have performed the duties of their respective offices in a partisan way. These men are sworn to administer the laws and, almost without exception, they have done so with honor and fidelity. Education is the greatest concern of government and of society. The so-called politics that has interfered with education in some of our cities and states has been chiefly the petty politics of "graft" and other forms of corruption. It is inconceivable that politics of this type can ever have sufficient influence to control the appointment of the Secretary of Education.

The whole matter centers around the following questions: Is a Department of Education desirable as expressing the Nation's interest in public education? Is a Department of Education necessary in order to promote, by leadership and service, the advancement of public education in the several states? Is a Department of Education necessary to the most efficient and most satisfactory administration of existing national educational endeavors and of the provisions of the Smith-Towner Bill? Affirmative answers to these questions have led to the formulation of the provisions of the Smith-Towner Bill with which this chapter has been concerned.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the Smith-Towner Bill is not a step toward national control of education or toward a national system of education.

On the contrary, the Smith-Towner Bill is a proposal for the further promotion of education in accordance with a precedent which dates unbroken from May, 1785. The creation of a Department of Education is also in harmony with the precedent which our own historical development has established. If education were with us a national function involving control of schools in the several states, it would doubtless be desirable to have a National Board of Education to pass on certain matters; but since it is necessary to preserve the educational autonomy of the states while stimulating them by subventions and leadership, a Department of Education with a Secretary of Education is the most desirable and advantageous organization for the purposes that the Smith-Towner Bill aims to realize.

CHAPTER XXIII

IN CONCLUSION

OUR examination of the historical aspects of public education in the United States has clearly shown that the Federal Government has always aided public education. The sixteenth section in each township in all of the states carved from the public domain has been set aside for the "maintenance of public schools." The grant of land to the Ohio Company was made by the Continental Congress while the Constitutional Convention was in session in 1787. The actual grants of land for public education within a state were first made in 1802 with the admission of Ohio. The members of Congress were then wholly from the thirteen original states. These states thoroughly understood that each state retained the sovereign right to organize, supervise, and administer public education within its own borders, — and each proceeded to do so in its own way. The assumption by Congress of the power to control public education within the several states has never seriously been proposed.

That Congress has the right to encourage the states with regard to education has been established by the section grants, by the university grants of townships, and by the Morrill and related acts. This encouragement has been both in the form of lands and in the form of money. Land was used as long as it lasted, — and then money was used. Congress now gives two and a half million dollars annually for the "support and further endowment of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts." Congress has the power "to lay and collect taxes," "to provide for the general welfare of the United States," and "to dispose of . . . the territory or other property belonging to the United States." The money that reaches the Treasury of the United States is the property of the United States, and Congress can appropriate it to provide for the general welfare. On this theory, land was given to encourage the states to establish and maintain public schools, universities, and colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. More recently Congress has enacted a series of laws relating to agricultural extension and vocational education of high school grade. Each of these laws appropriates money to the several states, under certain specified conditions.

It is well to have in mind the difference between a grant and a subvention. A grant is the more inclusive term and includes all appropriations and all passing of titles to property, — it is a *giving*. A subvention is a giving under certain restrictions and conditions. If Congress had been wise enough to provide that the proceeds of the sale of lands granted in aid of public education should be kept as perpetual funds, indestructible and indefeasible, the interest on such funds would now be a boon to every state that received grants. Congress did not make such provision for many years after adopting the land-grant policy. In consequence, the funds intended as capital endowment for the public schools were spent by many of the states, and are now only debts on which the states pay interest by means of taxation. These are mere "credit funds." One generation borrowed the money and spent it. All succeeding generations must tax themselves to pay the interest on the debt thus created. Therefore, the grants of land for public schools and other educational purposes have not proved to be the perpetual and continuing benefit which they might have been. In a similar way, it is clear that the net result would have been better, — even though slower of realization, — had Congress provided in the first Morrill Act that the states should not sell their land scrip for less than $1.25 an acre.

The public domain of the United States is practically exhausted so far as its use as a great perpetual fund for the encouragement of education is concerned. In fact, a fund of which only the interest should be used would have to be so large as to be entirely out of consideration as a practicable possibility. The several states may add to their several permanent school funds as the years go by, but the great bulk of these funds is already collected. The greater part of the expense of carrying on public education must be paid out of current funds raised by taxation. Our country has, at the present time, such vast wealth that a relatively low millage rate on the total would be sufficient to support a most effective system of public education. There is, however, no possibility of levying such a uniform millage for the several states are unlikely ever to carry this great undertaking to the point of educational efficiency that the needs of the Nation *as a nation* imperatively demand.

The absolutely certain way to insure the increasing effectiveness of public education in the several states is to establish specific, continuing national subventions such as have been discussed in previous chapters. If the Smith-Towner Bill becomes a law, there is no doubt that the several states will accept its provisions and move forward along the broad but specific pathways of progress therein specified. There are those who think that the appeal for more money for public education should be made to the separate communities. The Nation's problem can never be solved by this piecemeal method; the country is too large; its component local units are too numerous and — quite properly — too autonomous to insure a nation-wide gain through anything short of a national movement. There are also those who think that the states should bear the responsibility each for itself. But the states, too, are autonomous, — and the Nation's problems are not the problems of this, that, or the other state. In national affairs the old saw runs true to form: "What is everybody's business is nobody's business." The only dependable solution, from the national point of view, is for Congress to establish a group of continuing subventions which will, through their acceptance by the several states, insure that public education shall meet the needs of the Nation.

Such action would be but a continuation of the interest which Congress has had in the development of the public school as the one certain anchorage of democracy, — an interest that was shown by its earliest grants and appropriations, — an interest that continues to this day. Congress has done nothing for the promotion of fundamental, general education since it began appropriating land and money for the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. Its concern has been solely with vocational education. The needs of the technician, the farmer, and the artisan have had their day in Congress and have been generously met. It seems proper, as well as necessary, that Congress should again become interested in the kind of education that must be depended upon to develop the intelligent citizen, — else the Nation as a nation must confess that it is so seriously concerned with the economic productivity of its citizens as to be blind to their broader intellectual and moral needs.

How is Congress to get the money for these subventions? Aside from our present war taxes on the sales of commodities and services, Congress now receives the bulk of its revenues from taxes on incomes. Therefore, any additional money that is to be appropriated by Congress for any purpose must be raised by taxes on incomes. We shall pay, in large part, for the Panama Canal, for warships, for internal improvements, for post-office buildings, for the maintenance of lighthouses, and for the "support and further endowment of Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts," in the years that lie ahead, with money derived in increasing measure from this source. There is no authority for segregating Federal receipts into funds on the basis of their sources, — holding that money derived from a tax on alcohol is to be used for one purpose, that derived from duties on imports for another purpose, and so on through the long list of purposes. Money raised by taxation loses its identity of source the moment it reaches the Treasury of the United States and becomes the property of the whole people.

The Sixteenth Amendment, now an integral part of the Constitution with the same validity and sanction that the original articles possess, expressly provides that:

> "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

Notwithstanding this clear Constitutional provision and the laws which Congress has made in accordance therewith, it has been objected that the subventions provided for in the Smith-Towner Bill would not be made to the states in proportion to the amounts of income tax paid by the several states. The same objection would lie against practically every Congressional expenditure that has been made since the income-tax law was passed, and also against any appropriation made before that time with a variation in the name of the tax. It would have been absurd for Kentucky, in the days gone by, to insist that the Federal Government should return to her as much money as her citizens paid in excises on whisky. The objection just made is equally absurd.

If it be incumbent on proponents of a measure for the promotion of the public welfare to stand sponsor for some measure that will raise the money required to carry it to successful completion, we would propose in the present instance an extension of the income tax. The income tax is based on ability to pay. The primary and basal exemption allows a living, and the income tax takes a portion of the income which is above the living point. In a previous chapter,[1] we have seen that wealth is very unevenly distributed in the United States, both on the total-population basis and on the basis of the school-age population. One would naturally expect, therefore, that the net incomes subject to the Federal income tax would likewise vary in the several states. Large incomes will, as a general rule, be more numerous in the older communities for there has been a longer time during which wealth could accumulate. Wealth begets wealth. But, in a certain very real sense, the need for Federal assistance to education bears an inverse ratio to wealth.

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[1] See pp. 268 ff.

To test this assumption, the accompanying table has been prepared to show (1) the per cent of total wealth; (2) the per cent of allotment under the provisions of the Smith-Towner Bill; (3) the per cent of persons six to twenty years of age; and (4) the per cent of total net income reported by persons (not including corporations) in the several states in 1917.

The table calls for very little comment. The older states show the larger proportions of total net income. The income of persons resident in a given state may not bear any relation whatever to the wealth of that state. A citizen and resident of New York may derive his income largely or even entirely from dividends on the stock of a coal mine in West Virginia, an oil well in Oklahoma, an orange grove in California, a street railway in New Orleans, an iron mine in Michigan, a cattle ranch in Texas, or any one of many other possible sources that have practically no relation to the place of residence. The claim, already cited, that a state should share in any educational subventions of the Federal

DIVISIONS AND STATES	PER CENT OF TOTAL WEALTH	PER CENT OF TOTAL ALLOTMENT	PER CENT OF TOTAL 6–20 YEARS INCLUSIVE	PER CENT OF TOTAL NET INCOMES
Continental United States:	100.0000	100.0000	100.0000	
North Atlantic Division	29.9508	25.8812	25.5359	43.12
North Central Division	38.4409	32.4744	31.7520	31.83
South Atlantic Division	7.8851	14.2576	14.9177	7.43
South Central Division	12.6080	19.7742	21.4299	8.73
Western Division . .	11.1152	7.6189	6.3645	9.62
North Atlantic Division:				
Maine	.5896	.8660	.7034	.49
New Hampshire . . .	.3511	.4517	.4023	.31
Vermont	.2844	.3918	.3413	.21
Massachusetts . . .	3.2823	3.2610	3.1748	5.26
Rhode Island	.5109	.5370	.5337	.82
Connecticut	1.2325	1.1157	1.0755	1.83
New York	12.5406	9.2468	8.8446	20.38
New Jersey	3.0686	2.6720	2.5531	3.82
Pennsylvania	8.0908	7.3387	7.9072	10.00
North Central Division:				
Ohio	4.8944	4.7127	4.7343	5.44
Indiana	2.8335	2.7351	2.8031	1.91
Illinois	8.3535	5.5954	5.8229	8.23
Michigan	2.9582	3.0463	2.8716	2.85
Wisconsin	2.4509	2.5221	2.6398	1.67
Minnesota	3.0143	2.4932	2.3379	2.02
Iowa	4.2563	3.0197	2.4332	2.47
Missouri	3.1743	3.2141	3.5819	2.66
North Dakota . . .	1.1661	.9006	.6607	.45
South Dakota . . .	.7616	.8047	.6630	.80
Nebraska	2.0632	1.5138	1.3472	1.85
Kansas	2.5146	1.9162	1.8564	1.48
South Atlantic Division:				
Delaware	.1681	.1938	.2088	.41
Maryland	1.1459	1.2272	1.3999	1.86
District of Columbia .	.4391	.2955	.2856	.76
Virginia	1.2446	2.3945	2.5140	.99
West Virginia	1.2473	1.4414	1.4299	.77
North Carolina . . .	.9988	2.7013	2.8309	.61
South Carolina . . .	.7448	1.9282	2.0333	.52
Georgia	1.3158	3.1525	3.3364	1.12
Florida	.5807	.9228	.8789	.39
South Central Division:				
Kentucky	1.2316	2.4364	2.7232	.91
Tennessee	1.0498	2.4189	2.6611	.82
Alabama	1.1732	2.5609	2.7039	.54
Mississippi	.7477	2.2556	2.3235	.45
Louisiana	1.1770	2.0751	2.0752	.98
Texas	3.7499	4.3977	4.9142	2.57
Arkansas	1.0058	1.8161	1.9880	.48
Oklahoma	2.4730	1.8131	2.0408	1.98
Western Division:				
Montana	.6371	.5245	.3379	.59
Wyoming	.1973	.1923	.1289	.21
Colorado	1.3086	.8806	.7781	1.01
New Mexico	.2871	.3648	.3798	.23
Arizona	.2788	.2294	.2050	.29
Utah	.4205	.4344	.4361	.33
Nevada	.2526	.0859	.0581	.12
Idaho	.3382	.4084	.3489	.34
Washington	1.7482	1.2565	1.0576	1.24
Oregon	1.0551	.7676	.6321	.62
California	4.5918	2.4740	2.0020	4.64

Government in proportion to the income tax paid by its residents is thus seen to be doubly absurd.

The comparisons made in the table do not imply that there are any state lines in the matters of wealth or of the correlative ability to pay. Wealth is not a matter of state lines exclusively. The iron of Minnesota finds its way to other states for smelting, and to all states in manufactured forms. The fruits of Florida, California, Michigan, and New York are sent over practically all of the United States. The oil of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Texas goes everywhere. No matter how much iron, or fruit, or oil might be produced within a given state, there would be nothing but a local market unless there was a reachable population with needs and the wealth wherewith to satisfy these needs. This larger market is furnished by the states other than the producing states. There is a reciprocal relation, of course. More coal and manufactured steel than are needed by the citizens of Pennsylvania are produced within the geographical limits of the state. This surplus is exchanged for meats, flour, butter, potatoes, and other foodstuffs of which the production within Pennsylvania does not satisfy the demand.

It is clear, then, that the mere fact that there is a certain total of wealth within a given geographical or political unit does not mean that the residents thereof have produced this wealth by their own individual and unaided efforts. Our means of transportation have developed to so remarkable a degree that wealth and economic well-being are vastly increased over what they would be had we no railroads, steamboats, electric cars, or automobiles. The political unit within which free exchange takes place is the United States, not one particular state alone. Commercially, economically, industrially, the states are interdependent, and this interdependence is not hampered or trammeled by law or by tradition. If the so-called sovereignty of the states had extended to the control of commerce and if there had been a break in transportation at state lines as there is at national boundaries, the economic development of the Nation as a whole would have been slow and halting. The collective federal policy of free exchange of commodities between and among the states has been, in part at least, responsible for the remarkable development of wealth in this country.

Actually, the states are as interdependent educationally as they are commercially and industrially. A low level of educational efficiency in one state affects every other state. (1) The citizens of the first state are free to move into and live within any other state, — carrying with them their ignorance, their illiteracy, their superstition, their unprogressive or even their anti-social ideals. (2) The productive capacity of any group varies directly with the trained intelligence of its members; low intelligence in any section of the country reduces the wealth of the country as a whole. (3) The educationally backward state is proportionately as well represented in Congress and in the Electoral College as is the progressive state; a low level of intelligence among the voters of any one state will be inevitably reflected in the representative government of the Nation. If, four years ago, a person could be excusably blind to this essential educational interdependence of the several states, the time when such blindness is excusable has certainly passed.

If we take corporations that pay income taxes to the Federal Government into account, the extent of this source of possible national receipts becomes clearer. The net income of these corporations for 1916 was $8,765,900,000. How much larger it was for the following years, we do not yet know. It certainly was not less than in 1916. Taking it at the 1916 figure and adding it to the $13,607,679,446 net personal incomes, gives a total of over $23,000,000,000. A tax of one half of one per cent on this net income would more than provide for all the expenditures of the Smith-Towner Bill.

The justification of such a tax for the promotion of education in the several states may be summarized as follows:

(1) The induction of its citizens into its culture, its standards, and its ideals is the greatest concern of every government, for it is these spiritual and immaterial forces that constitute a Nation; if these should fail, the Nation dies; as these flourish, the Nation prospers.

To cherish, develop, and sedulously safeguard its spiritual heritage is the first condition of national survival.

(2) The United States is a federal form of government and is by its fundamental and organic law debarred from guaranteeing its own survival through actively and directly organizing, supervising, and administering public education in the several states.

(3) The Federal Government can achieve the same end by stimulating and encouraging the several states to establish and maintain various forms of public education. From its birth it has utilized this means of meeting its educational needs.

(4) The war revealed certain defects in our state systems of public education, — illiteracy and limited literacy among adults, the presence of many un-Americanized aliens in our midst, and many physical defects and minor ailments that might easily have been removed with proper care. Many of these national handicaps can be traced with certainty to inequalities of educational opportunities and to the low standards of preparation in the teaching personnel.

(5) It is of the greatest importance to the Nation, which is charged with insuring a more perfect Union, providing for the common defense, promoting the general welfare, establishing justice, insuring domestic tranquillity, and securing the blessings of liberty that these defects in our present state systems of public education should be remedied and the whole system strengthened.

(6) The only method by which the Federal Government can secure these results is by providing a group of continuing subventions, — each subvention being directed toward the stimulation of the states to increased effort toward meeting some one educational need, such as the removal of illiteracy, the Americanization of foreigners, the equalization of educational opportunities, the preparation of teachers, or the improvement of physical and health education. This is the only method because Congress has no right to coerce the states to undertake any of these policies. It is also a sure method because a similar system of grants of land and money has been tested under our Federal-State plan of government. The present proposals contain all the inducement features of former grants and also provide a set of reasonable conditions designed to safeguard national interests without injury to the states and without infringing upon their autonomy.

(7) The money with which to finance this group of subventions can be readily secured by the Federal Government by means of the income tax, — a method which, in view of the relation of education to the increase and security of wealth, commends itself as eminently fair and right.

The establishment of these subventions in aid of education is the great objective to attain, — it is the imperative thing.

A Department of Education should be created, with a

Secretary of Education who should be a member of the President's Cabinet. This Department of Education should administer these subsidies, coördinate the various educational activities in which the Federal Government is now engaged, represent this country in its educational relations with other countries, become the national center for educational research, and exercise a wise and beneficent leadership in American education. The creation of such a Department of Education is in line with what our states have done, with what every first class modern nation except America has already done, and with what the Nation has done in creating Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and Commerce. These Departments do not imply national control of agriculture, labor, and commerce. On the contrary, their chief function is to exercise a leadership won through a demonstrated ability to render real service. To establish and to exercise a similar leadership will be the chief function of a Federal Department of Education.

APPENDIX A

Land and Scrip Granted to States and Territories for Educational Aid and Other Purposes

State or Territory	Purpose of Grant	Amount Granted, Acres	Total by States
Alabama:			
	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute	25,000.00	
	Industrial School for Girls	25,000.00	
	Seminary of Learning	46,080.00	
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	Agricultural College Scrip	240,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16	911,627.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	23,040.00	
	Seat of Government	1,620.00	
	University	46,080.00	1,818,447.00
Alaska Territory:			
	Common schools, Secs. 16 and 36, reserved (Est.)	21,009,209.00	
	Agricultural College and School of Mines, certain Secs. 33, reserved (Estimated)	336,000.00	21,345,209.00
Arizona:			
	University	246,080.00	
	Public Buildings	100,000.00	
	Penitentiaries	100,000.00	
	Insane Asylums	100,000.00	
	Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Asylum	100,000.00	
	Miners' Hospital	50,000.00	
	Normal Schools	200,000.00	
	Charitable, Penal, etc.	100,000.00	
	Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges	150,000.00	
	School of Mines	150,000.00	
	Military Institutes	100,000.00	
	Payment of bonds issued to Maricopa, Pima, Yavapai and Coconino Counties	1,000,000.00	

APPENDIX A — *Continued*

STATE OR TERRITORY	PURPOSE OF GRANT	AMOUNT GRANTED, ACRES	TOTAL BY STATES
Arizona — Continued			
	Common Schools, Secs. 2 and 32, 16 and 36	8,093,156.00	10,489,236.00
Arkansas:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	46,080.00	
	Public Buildings	10,600.00	
	Agricultural College Scrip	150,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16	933,778.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	46,080.00	1,686,538.00
California:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	46,080.00	
	Public Buildings	6,400.00	
	Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges	150,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	5,534,293.00	6,236,773.00
Colorado:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	46,080.00	
	Public Buildings	32,000.00	
	Penitentiaries	32,000.00	
	Agricultural College	90,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	3,685,618.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	46,080.00	
	State Agricultural College	1,600.00	4,433,378.00
Connecticut:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	180,000.00	180,000.00
Delaware:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	90,000.00	90,000.00
Florida:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	Seminaries of Learning	92,160.00	
	Seat of Government	5,120.00	
	Agricultural College Scrip	90,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16	975,307.00	1,662,587.00
Georgia:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	270,000.00	270,000.00
Idaho:			
	Lava Hot Springs	187.30	
	University	46,080.00	

APPENDIX A — *Continued*

State or Territory	Purpose of Grant	Amount Granted, Acres	Total by States
Idaho — Continued			
	University	50,000.00	
	Agricultural College	90,000.00	
	Penitentiary	50,000.00	
	Public Buildings	32,000.00	
	Insane Asylum	50,000.00	
	Educational, Charitable, etc.	150,000.00	
	Normal Schools	100,000.00	
	Scientific Schools	100,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	2,963,698.00	3,631,965.30
Illinois:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	Seminary of Learning	46,080.00	
	Seat of Government	2,560.00	
	Agricultural College Scrip	480,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16	996,320.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	121,029.00	2,145,989.00
Indiana:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	Seminary of Learning	46,080.00	
	Seat of Government	2,560.00	
	Agricultural College Scrip	390,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16	668,578.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	23,040.00	1,630,258.00
Iowa:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	46,080.00	
	Public Buildings	3,200.00	
	Agricultural College	240,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16	988,196.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	46,080.00	1,823,556.00
Kansas:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	46,080.00	
	Public Buildings	6,400.00	
	Agricultural College	90,000.00	
	Agricultural College	7,682.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	2,907,520.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	46,080.00	
	Game Preserve	3,021.20	3,606,783.20

APPENDIX A — *Continued*

State or Territory	Purpose of Grant	Amount Granted, Acres	Total by States
Kentucky:			
	Deaf and Dumb Asylum . . .	22,508.65	
	Agricultural College Scrip . . .	330,000.00	352,508.65
Louisiana:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	Seminary of Learning	46,080.00	
	Agricultural College Scrip . . .	210,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16 . . .	807,271.00	1,563,351.00
Maine:			
	Agricultural College Scrip . . .	210,000.00	210,000.00
Maryland:			
	Agricultural College Scrip . . .	210,000.00	210,000.00
Massachusetts:			
	Agricultural College Scrip . . .	360,000.00	360,000.00
Michigan:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	46,080.00	
	Public Buildings	3,200.00	
	Agricultural College	240,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16 . . .	1,021,867.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	46,080.00	1,857,227.00
Minnesota:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	92,160.00	
	Public Buildings	6,400.00	
	Agricultural College	120,000.00	
	Experimental Forestry	20,000.00	
	Public Park	8,392.51	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	2,874,951.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	46,080.00	3,667,983.51
Mississippi:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	Seminary of Learning	69,120.00	
	Seat of Government	1,253.16	
	Agricultural College Scrip . . .	210,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16 . . .	824,213.00	1,604,586.16
Missouri:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	Seminary of Learning	46,080.00	
	Seat of Government	2,560.00	
	Agricultural College	330,000.00	

APPENDIX A — *Continued*

State or Territory	Purpose of Grant	Amount Granted, Acres	Total by States
Missouri — Continued			
	Common Schools, Sec. 16	1,221,812.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	46,080.00	2,146,533.00
Montana:			
	University	46,080.00	
	Agricultural College	140,000.00	
	Public Buildings	182,000.00	
	Deaf and Dumb Asylum	50,000.00	
	Reform School	50,000.00	
	School of Mines	100,000.00	
	Normal Schools	100,000.00	
	Militia Camp	640.00	
	Observatory for University	480.00	
	Biological Station	160.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	5,198,258.00	
	Fort Assiniboine, for educational institutions	2,000.00	5,869,618.00
Nebraska:			
	Penitentiary	32,000.00	
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	46,080.00	
	Public Buildings	12,800.00	
	Agricultural College	90,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	2,730,951.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	46,080.00	
	Dry-land Agricultural Experiments	800.00	3,458,711.00
Nevada:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	46,080.00	
	Penitentiary	12,800.00	
	Public Buildings	12,800.00	
	Mining and Mechanic Arts	90,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36, and lieu lands, act June 16, 1880	2,061,967.00	2,723,647.00
New Hampshire:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	150,000.00	150,000.00
New Jersey:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	210,000.00	210,000.00
New Mexico (act June 21, 1898):			
	University	111,080.00	
	Saline land (University)	1,622.86	

APPENDIX A — *Continued*

State or Territory	Purpose of Grant	Amount Granted, Acres	Total by States
New Mexico — Continued			
	Agricultural College	100,000.00	
	Improvement of Rio Grande	100,000.00	
	Penitentiary	50,000.00	
	Public Buildings	32,000.00	
	Insane Asylum	50,000.00	
	Deaf and Dumb Asylum	50,000.00	
	Reform School	50,000.00	
	Normal School	100,000.00	
	School of Mines	50,000.00	
	Blind Asylum	50,000.00	
	Reservoirs	500,000.00	
	Miners' Hospital	50,000.00	
	Military Institute	50,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	4,355,662.00	5,700,364.86
New Mexico (act June 20, 1910):			
	University	200,000.00	
	Public Buildings	100,000.00	
	Insane Asylums	100,000.00	
	Penitentiaries	100,000.00	
	Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Asylum	100,000.00	
	Miners' Hospitals	50,000.00	
	Normal Schools	200,000.00	
	Charitable, Penal, and Reformatory	100,000.00	
	Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges	150,000.00	
	School of Mines	150,000.00	
	Military Institutes	100,000.00	
	Payment of bonds issued by Grant and Santa Fe Counties	1,000,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 2 and 32	4,355,662.00	6,705,662.00
New York:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	990,000.00	990,000.00
North Carolina:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	270,000.00	270,000.00
North Dakota:			
	University	86,080.00	
	Agricultural College	130,000.00	
	Public Buildings	82,000.00	
	Educational, Charitable, etc.	170,000.00	
	Deaf and Dumb Asylum	40,000.00	

APPENDIX A — *Continued*

State or Territory	Purpose of Grant	Amount Granted, Acres	Total by States
North Dakota — Continued			
	Reform School	40,000.00	
	School of Mines	40,000.00	
	Normal School	80,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	2,495,396.00	3,163,476.00
Ohio:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	Seminaries of Learning	69,120.00	
	Agricultural College Scrip	630,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16	724,266.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	24,216.00	1,947,602.00
Oklahoma:			
	Normal Schools	300,000.00	
	Oklahoma University	250,000.00	
	University Preparatory School	150,000.00	
	Agricultural and Mechanical College	250,000.00	
	Colored Agricultural and Normal University	100,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	1,375,000.00	
	Certain Secs. 13 and 33	669,000.00	
	Insane Asylum	1,760.25	3,095,760.25
Oregon:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	46,080.00	
	Public Buildings	6,400.00	
	Agricultural College	90,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	3,399,360.00	
	Salt Springs and contiguous lands	46,080.00	
	Public Park (Area not yet determined)		4,087,920.00
Pennsylvania:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	780,000.00	780,000.00
Rhode Island:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	120,000.00	120,000.00
South Carolina:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	180,000.00	180,000.00
South Dakota:			
	University	86,080.00	
	Agricultural College	160,000.00	
	Public Buildings	82,000.00	

APPENDIX A — *Continued*

State or Territory	Purpose of Grant	Amount Granted, Acres	Total by States
South Dakota — Continued			
	Educational and Charitable	170,000.00	
	Deaf and Dumb Asylum	40,000.00	
	Reform School	40,000.00	
	School of Mines	40,000.00	
	Normal Schools	80,000.00	
	Missionary Work	160.00	
	Military Camp Ground	640.00	
	Insane Asylum	640.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	2,733,084.00	3,432,604.00
Tennessee:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	300,000.00	300,000.00
Texas:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	180,000.00	180,000.00
Utah:			
	University	156,080.00	
	Agricultural College	200,000.00	
	Public Buildings	64,000.00	
	Insane Asylum	100,000.00	
	Deaf and Dumb Asylum	100,000.00	
	Reform School	100,000.00	
	School of Mines	100,000.00	
	Normal Schools	100,000.00	
	Blind Asylum	100,000.00	
	Reservoirs	500,000.00	
	Miners' Hospital	50,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 2, 16, 32, and 36	5,844,196.00	7,414,276.00
Vermont:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	150,000.00	150,000.00
Virginia:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	300,000.00	300,000.00
Washington:			
	University	46,080.00	
	Agricultural College	90,000.00	
	Public Buildings	132,000.00	
	Educational and Charitable	200,000.00	
	Normal Schools	100,000.00	
	Scientific Schools	100,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	2,376,391.00	3,044,471.00

APPENDIX A — *Continued*

State or Territory	Purpose of Grant	Amount Granted, Acres	Total by States
West Virginia:			
	Agricultural College Scrip	150,000.00	150,000.00
Wisconsin:			
	Internal Improvements	500,000.00	
	University	92,160.00	
	Public Buildings	6,400.00	
	Agricultural College	240,000.00	
	Forestry	20,000.00	
	Common Schools, Sec. 16	982,329.00	1,840,889.00
Wyoming:			
	University	46,080.00	
	Agricultural College	90,000.00	
	Public Buildings	107,000.00	
	Penitentiary	30,000.00	
	Insane Asylum	30,000.00	
	Educational, Penal, etc.	290,000.00	
	Deaf and Dumb Asylum	30,000.00	
	Miners' Hospital	30,000.00	
	Fish Hatcheries	5,480.00	
	Poor Farm	10,000.00	
	Common Schools, Secs. 16 and 36	3,470,009.00	4,138,569.00
	Grand total		133,426,478.93

APPENDIX B

SWAMP AND OVERFLOWED LANDS

UNDER the grant of swamp and overflowed lands m by the acts of Congress approved March 2, 1849 (9 St 352), September 28, 1850 (9 Stat., 519), and March 1860 (12 Stat., 3), now Sections 2479, 2480, 2481, a 2490, United States Revised Statutes, the several stat which were the beneficiaries of it, have received paten for the following areas to and including June 30, 1918:

	Acres
Alabama	418,520.14
Arkansas	7,686,335.37
California	2,138,745.76
Florida	20,201,660.52
Illinois	1,457,399.20
Indiana	1,254,270.73
Iowa	873,816.42
Louisiana	9,375,766.66
Michigan	5,655,769.56
Minnesota	4,662,927.10
Mississippi	3,284,972.58
Missouri	3,346,683.70
Ohio	26,251.95
Oregon	264,069.01
Wisconsin	3,251,542.34
Total	63,898,731.04

In addition to these lands in place, cash and land indemnity has been given to the same states under the acts of March 2, 1855 (10 Stat., 634), and March 3, 1857 (11 Stat., 251), now Sections 2482, 2483, and 2484, United States Revised Statutes, as follows:

	Cash	Land (Acres)
Alabama	$ 27,691.50	20,920.08
Arkansas	374,450.00	
Florida	67,221.69	94,782.80
Illinois	473,875.99	2,309.07
Indiana	39,080.14	4,880.20
Iowa	587,477.59	321,976.98
Louisiana	53,118.65	32,630.97
Michigan	15,922.06	24,038.69
Mississippi	46,449.62	56,781.76
Missouri	195,874.82	81,016.69
Ohio	29,027.76	
Wisconsin	185,278.97	105,047.99
Total	$ 2,095,468.79	744,385.23

APPENDIX C

THE SMITH-TOWNER BILL, AS INTRODUCED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 19, 1919, BY MR. H. M. TOWNER, OF IOWA

A BILL to create a Department of Education, to authorize appropriations for the conduct of said Department, to authorize the appropriation of money to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby created an executive department in the Government to be called the Department of Education, with a Secretary of Education, who shall be the head thereof, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall receive a salary of $12,000 per annum, and whose tenure of office shall be the same as that of the heads of other executive departments; and section one hundred and fifty-eight of the Revised Statutes is hereby amended to include such department, and the provisions of title 4 of the Revised Statutes, including all amendments thereto, are hereby made applicable to said department. The Secretary of Education shall cause a seal of office to be made for such department of such device as the

President shall approve, and judicial notice shall be taken of said seal.

SEC. 2. That there shall be in said department an Assistant Secretary of Education to be appointed by the President, who shall receive a salary of $5000 per annum. He shall perform such duties as may be prescribed by the Secretary or required by law. There shall also be one chief clerk and a disbursing clerk and such chiefs of bureaus and clerical assistants as may from time to time be authorized by Congress.

SEC. 3. That there is hereby transferred to the Department of Education the Bureau of Education, and the President is authorized and empowered in his discretion to transfer to the Department of Education such offices, bureaus, divisions, boards, or branches of the Government, connected with or attached to any of the executive departments or organized independently of any department, as in his judgment should be controlled by, or the functions of which should be exercised by, the Department of Education, and all such offices, bureaus, divisions, boards, or branches of the Government so transferred by the President or by act of Congress, shall thereafter be administered by the Department of Education, as hereinafter provided.

All officers, clerks, and employees employed in or by any office, bureau, division, board, or branch of the Government, transferred in accordance with the provisions of this act of the Department of Education, shall each and all be transferred to said Department of Education at their existing grades and salaries, except where otherwise provided in this act; and the office records and papers on file and pertaining exclusively to the business of any such office, bureau, division, board, or branch of the Government so transferred, together with the furniture and equipment thereof, shall be transferred to said department.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of Education shall have charge, in the buildings or premises occupied by or assigned to the Department of Education, of the library, furniture, fixtures, records, and other property used therein or pertaining thereto, and may expend for rental of appropriate quarters for the accommodation of the Department of Education within the District of Columbia, and for the library, furniture, equipment, and all other incidental expenses, such sums as Congress may provide from time to time.

All power and authority conferred by law upon or exercised by the head of any executive department, or by any administrative board, over any officer, office, bureau, division, board, or branch, of the Government, transferred in accordance with the provisions of this act to the Department of Education, and any and all business arising therefrom or pertaining thereto, and all duties performed in connection therewith, shall, after such transfer, be vested in and exercised by the Secretary of Education.

All laws prescribing the work and defining the duties and powers of the several offices, bureaus, divisions, boards, or branches of the Government, transferred in accordance with the provisions of this act to the Department of Education, shall, in so far as the same are not in conflict with the provisions of this act, remain in full force and effect and be executed by the Secretary of Education, to whom is hereby granted definite authority to reorganize the work of any and all of the said offices, bureaus, divisions, boards, or branches of the Government so transferred, in such way as will in his judgment best accomplish the purposes of this act.

SEC. 5. That it shall be the duty of the Department of Education to conduct studies and investigations in the field of education and to report thereon. Research shall be undertaken in (*a*) illiteracy; (*b*) immigrant education; (*c*) public-school education, and especially rural education; (*d*) physical education, including health education, recreation and sanitation; (*e*) preparation and supply of competent teachers for the public schools; and (*f*) in such other fields as, in the judgment of the Secretary of Education, may require attention and study.

In order to carry out the provisions of this section the Secretary of Education is authorized, in the same manner as provided for appointments in other departments, to make appointments, or recommendations of appointments, of educational attachés to foreign embassies, and of such investigators and representatives as may be needed, subject to the appropriations that have been made or may hereafter be made to any office, bureau, division, board, or branch of the Government, transferred in accordance with the provisions of this act to the Department of Education; and where appropriations have not been made therefor the appropriation provided in section 6 of this act shall be available.

SEC. 6. That for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and annually thereafter, the sum of $500,000 is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Department of Education, for the purpose of paying salaries and conducting investigations and paying all incidental and traveling expenses and rent where necessary, and for the purpose of enabling the Department of Education to carry out the provisions of this act. And all appropriations which have been made and which may hereafter be made to any office, bureau, division, board, or branch of the Government, transferred in accordance with the provisions of this act to the Department of Education, are hereby continued in full force and effect, and shall be administered by the Secretary of Education in such manner as is prescribed by law.

SEC. 7. That in order to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and annually thereafter, $100,000,000, to be apportioned, disbursed, and expended as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 8. That in order to encourage the States to remove illiteracy, three-fortieths of the sum authorized to be appropriated by section 7 of this act shall be used for the instruction of illiterates ten years of age and over. Such instruction shall deal with the common-school branches and the duties of citizenship, and when advisable shall prepare for some definite occupation. Said sum shall be apportioned to the States in the proportions which their respective illiterate populations of ten years of age and over, not including foreign-born illiterates, bear to such total illiterate population of the United States, not including outlying possessions, according to the last preceding census of the United States.

SEC. 9. That in order to encourage the States in the Americanization of immigrants, three-fortieths of the sum authorized to be appropriated by section 7 of this act shall be used to teach immigrants ten years of age and over to speak and read the English language and to understand and appreciate the spirit and purpose of the American Government and the duties of citizenship in a free country. The said sum shall be apportioned to the States in the proportions which their respective foreign-born populations bear to the total foreign-born population of the United States, not including outlying possessions, according to the last preceding census of the United States.

SEC. 10. That in order to encourage the States to equalize educational opportunities, five-tenths of the sum authorized to be appropriated by section 7 of this act shall be used in public elementary and secondary schools for the partial payment of teachers' salaries, for providing better instruction and extending school terms, especially in rural schools and schools in sparsely settled localities, and otherwise providing equally good educational opportunities for the children in the several States, and for the extension and adaptation of public libraries for educational purposes. The said sum shall be apportioned to the States, one-half in the proportions which the number of children between the ages of six and twenty-one of the respective States bears to the total number of such children in the United States, and one-half in the proportions which the number of public-school teachers employed in teaching positions in the respective States bears to the total number of public-school teachers so employed in the United States, not including outlying possessions, said apportionment to be based upon statistics collected annually by the Department of Education.

Provided, however, That in order to share in the apportionment provided by this section a State shall establish and maintain the following requirements unless prevented by constitutional limitations, in which case these requirements shall be approximated as nearly as constitutional provisions will permit: (a) a legal school term of at least twenty-four weeks in each year for the benefit of all children of school age in such State; (b) a compulsory school attendance law requiring all children between the ages of seven and fourteen to attend some school for at least twenty-four weeks in each year; (c) a law requiring that the English language shall be the basic language of instruction in the common-school branches in all schools, public and private.

SEC. 11. That in order to encourage the States in the promotion of physical education, two-tenths of the sum authorized to be appropriated by section 7 of this act shall be used for physical education and instruction in the principles of health and sanitation, and for providing school nurses, school dental clinics, and otherwise promoting physical and mental welfare. The said sum shall be apportioned to the States in the proportions which their respective populations bear to the total population of the United States, not including outlying possessions, according to the last preceding census of the United States.

SEC. 12. That in order to encourage the States in the preparation of teachers for public-school service, particularly in rural schools, three-twentieths of the sum authorized to be appropriated by section 7 of this act shall be used to provide and extend facilities for the improvement of teachers already in service and for the more adequate preparation of prospective teachers, and to provide an increased number of trained and competent teachers by encouraging, through the establishment of scholarships and otherwise, a greater number of talented young people to make adequate preparation for public-school service. The said sum shall be apportioned to the States in the proportions which the number of public-school teachers employed in teaching positions in the respective States bears to the total number of public-school teachers so employed in the United States, not including outlying possessions, said apportionments to be based on statistics collected annually by the Department of Education.

SEC. 13. That in order to secure the benefits of the appropriation authorized in section 7, and of any of the apportionments made in sections 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 of this act, a State shall by legislative enactment accept the provisions of this act and provide for the distribution of such funds as may be apportioned to said State, and shall designate the State's chief educational authority, whether a State superintendent of public instruction, a commissioner of education, a State board of education, or other legally constituted chief educational authority, to represent said State in the administration of this act, and such authority so designated shall be recognized by the Secretary of Education: *Provided*, That in any State in which the legislature does not meet in 1920, the governor of said State, in so far as he may have authority so to do, may take such action, temporarily, as is herein provided to be taken by legislative enactment in order to secure the benefits of this act, and such action by the governor shall be recognized by the Secretary of Education for the purposes of this act, when reported by the chief educational authority designated to represent said State, until the legislature of said State shall have met in due course and been in session sixty days.

In any State accepting the provisions of this act, the State treasurer shall be designated and appointed as custodian of all funds received by said State as apportionments under the provisions of this act, to receive and provide for the proper custody and disbursement of the same, such disbursements to be made in accordance with the legal provisions of said State, on warrants duly drawn by the State's chief educational authority designated to represent said State in the administration of this act.

A State may accept the provisions of any one or more of the respective apportionments authorized in sections 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 of this act, and may defer the acceptance of any one or more of said apportionments: *Provided*, *however*, That no money shall be apportioned to any State from any of the funds provided in sections 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 of this act, unless a sum equally as large shall be provided by said State, or by local authorities, or by both, for the same purpose: *And* *provided*, That the sum or sums provided by a State for the equalization of educational opportunities, for the promotion of physical education, and for the preparation of teachers, shall not be less for any year than the amount provided for the same purpose for the fiscal year next preceding the acceptance of the provisions of this act by said State: *And provided further*, That no money apportioned to any State under the provisions of this act shall be used by any State or local authority, directly or indirectly, for the purchase, rental, erection, preservation, or repair of any building or equipment, or for the purchase or rental of land, or for the payment of debts or the interest thereon.

SEC. 14. That when a State shall have accepted the provisions of this act and shall have provided for the distribution and administration of such funds as may be apportioned to said State, as herein provided, the State's chief educational authority designated to represent said State shall so report in writing to the Secretary of Education. If such report shows that said State is prepared to carry out the provisions of this act with respect to any one or more of the apportionments authorized in sections 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 of this act, the Secretary of Education shall apportion to said State for the fiscal year, or for the remainder of the fiscal year, as the case may be, such funds as said State may be entitled to receive under the provisions of this act, and shall certify such apportionment or apportionments to the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided*, That this act shall not be construed to require uniformity of plans, means, or methods in the several States in order to secure the benefits herein provided, except as specifically stated herein: *And provided further*, That all the educational facilities encouraged by the provisions of this act and accepted by a State shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally constituted State and local educational authorities of said State, and the Secretary of Education shall exercise no authority in relation thereto except as herein provided to insure that all funds apportioned to said State shall be used for the purposes for which they are appropriated, and in accordance with the provisions of this act accepted by said State.

SEC. 15. That the Secretary of Education is authorized to prescribe plans for keeping accounts of the expenditures of such funds as may be apportioned to the States under the provisions of this act, and to audit such accounts. The Secretary of Education may withhold the apportionment or apportionments of any State for the next ensuing fiscal year whenever he shall determine that such apportionment or apportionments made to said State for the current fiscal year are not being expended in accordance with the provisions of this act: *Provided, however*, That before withholding any such apportionment from any State, as herein provided, the Secretary of Education shall give due notice in writing to the chief educational authority designated to represent said State, stating specifically wherein said State fails to comply with the provisions of this act.

If any portion of the money received by the treasurer of a State under the provisions of this act for any of the purposes herein provided shall, by action or contingency, be diminished or lost, the same shall be replaced by said State, and until so replaced no subsequent apportionment for such purpose shall be paid to said State. If any part of the funds apportioned annually to any State for any of the purposes named in sections 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 of this act has not been expended for such purpose, a sum equal to such unexpended part shall be deducted from the next succeeding annual apportionment made to said State for such purpose.

SEC. 16. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay quarterly, on the 1st day of July, October, January and April, to the treasury of any State designated to receive such funds, such apportionment or apportionments as are properly certified to him by the Secretary of Education, and he shall discontinue such payments when notified so to do by the Secretary of Education, as provided in this act.

SEC. 17. That the chief educational authority designated to represent any State receiving the benefits of this act, shall, not later than September 1 of each year, make a report to the Secretary of Education showing the work done in said State in carrying out the provisions of this act, and the receipts and expenditures of money apportioned to said State under the provisions of this act. If the chief educational authority designated to represent any State shall fail to report as herein provided, the Secretary of Education shall notify the Secretary of the Treasury to discontinue the payment of all apportionments to said State until such report shall have been made.

Sec. 18. That the Secretary of Education shall annually at the close of each fiscal year make a report in writing to Congress giving an account of all moneys received and disbursed by the Department of Education, and describing the work done by the department. He shall also, not later than December 1 of each year, make a report to Congress on the administration of sections 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 of this act, and shall include in said report a summary of the reports made to him by the several States showing the condition of public education therein, and shall at the same time make such recommendations to Congress as will, in his judgment, improve public education in the United States. He shall also from time to time make such special investigations and reports as may be required of him by the President or by Congress.

Sec. 19. That this act shall take effect April 1, 1920, and all acts and parts of acts in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

Since the facilities for teaching foreigners to speak nglish are available chiefly through the night schools the cities, it is well to know that of the total already entioned, 2,042,881, or 61.17 per cent, lived in urban mmunities and 910,130, or 30.82 per cent, lived in ral communities. Those living in rural communities ave very little opportunity of learning to speak English. hey remain practically illiterate even though they earn to speak the little English which their occupation orces on them, "except in New England and the East North Central division, the percentage unable to speak English for foreign-born whites was higher in the rural population of each division than it was in the urban."[1] This is such an important matter that the following table has been prepared[2] to show the per cent of foreign-born white population ten years of age and over unable to speak English in the urban and rural communities of different divisions of our country.

PER CENT FOREIGN-BORN WHITES TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER UNABLE TO SPEAK ENGLISH AND RESIDENT IN

	URBAN COMMUNITIES	RURAL COMMUNITIES
New England	14.9	16.2
Middle Atlantic	24.5	34.3
East North Central	24.8	19.3
West North Central	14.8	19.1
South Atlantic	20.2	35.7
East South Central	8.7	18.0
West South Central	30.9	53.9
Mountain	15.2	27.9
Pacific	9.9	19.3

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[1] Thirteenth Census Reports, Vol. 1, p. 1274.

[2] Made from Table 15, p. 1275, Thirteenth Census Reports, Vol. 1.

The preceding table shows conclusively that the problem of Americanization is not exclusively an urban problem, and hints that possibly the most difficult phases of it will be found in rural communities, in which the public-school facilities are so hopelessly inadequate.

It is quite generally known that a great number of immigrants entered our country from 1900 to 1910, and quite as generally known that many of these immigrants have not learned to speak English. Just how great is this increase in foreign-born whites unable to speak English is shown in the table which follows. The number of foreign-born whites ten years of age and over and unable to speak English in each division and state is shown in column one for 1900, for 1910 in column two. The increase for the decade is shown in column three and the per cent of increase is shown in column four. When we bear in mind that immigration continued unchecked until 1914 and that very little has been done to teach foreigners to speak English except in the night schools of our cities, it becomes evident that the language aspect of Americanization is as vast as it is important.

FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER UNABLE TO SPEAK ENGLISH IN 1900, 1910, THE INCREASE, AND THE PER CENT OF INCREASE[1]

	NUMBER IN 1900	NUMBER IN 1910	INCREASE FROM 1900 TO 1910	PER CENT OF INCREASE
Continental United States:	1,217,280	2,953,011	1,735,731	142.6
North Atlantic Division	585,617	1,544,588	958,971	163.7
North Central Division	471,418	968,581	497,163	105.4
South Atlantic Division	19,518	71,389	51,871	265.7
South Central Division	85,661	158,011	72,350	84.4
Western Division	55,066	210,442	155,376	282.1
North Atlantic Division:				
Maine	13,919	19,589	5,670	40.7
New Hampshire	17,107	26,783	9,676	56.5
Vermont	3,921	8,342	4,421	112.7
Massachusetts	76,637	171,014	94,377	123.1
Rhode Island	17,029	36,961	19,932	117.0
Connecticut	26,816	64,201	37,385	139.4
New York	220,306	597,012	376,706	170.9
New Jersey	48,709	153,861	105.152	215.8
Pennsylvania	161,173	466,825	305,652	189.6
North Central Division:				
Ohio	51,752	163,722	111,970	216.3
Indiana	11,339	40,731	29,392	259.2
Illinois	103,301	266,557	163,256	158.0
Michigan	49,342	102,286	52,944	107.3
Wisconsin	86,797	120,665	33,868	39.0
Minnesota	68,894	89,850	20,956	30.4
Iowa	25,544	37,169	11,625	45.5
Missouri	14,511	37,747	23,236	160.1
North Dakota	18,082	33,491	15,409	85.2
South Dakota	13,104	18,486	5,382	41.0
Nebraska	17,908	29,519	11,611	64.8
Kansas	10,844	28,358	17,514	161.5
South Atlantic Division:				
Delaware	1,529	4,824	3,295	215.5
Maryland	7,520	17,544	10,024	133.3
District of Columbia	254	1,349	1,095	431.1
Virginia	827	3,983	3,156	381.6
West Virginia	3,612	27,461	23,849	660.2
North Carolina	123	779	656	533.3
South Carolina	52	447	395	759.6
Georgia	177	953	776	438.4
Florida	5,424	14,049	8,625	159.0
South Central Division:				
Kentucky	1,850	3,816	1,966	106.2
Tennessee	675	1,648	973	144.1
Alabama	759	3,028	2,269	298.9
Mississippi	334	1,491	1,157	346.4
Arkansas	877	2,741	1,864	212.5
Louisiana	7,817	11,547	3,730	47.7
Oklahoma	1,718	7,975	6,257	364.2
Texas	71,631	125,765	54,134	75.5
Western Division:				
Montana	3,109	13,718	10,609	341.2
Idaho	921	5,805	4,884	530.2
Wyoming	1,962	5,970	4,008	204.2
Colorado	6,429	22,610	16,181	251.7
New Mexico	5,478	11,776	6,298	114.9
Arizona	9,775	25,072	15,297	156.5
Utah	2,208	8,129	5,921	268.1
Nevada	477	3,557	3,080	645.7
Washington	3,815	25,568	21,753	570.1
Oregon	2,087	13,531	11,444	548.3
California	18,805	74,706	55,901	297.2

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[1] From Table 18, Thirteenth Census Reports, Vol. 1, p. 1277.

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